
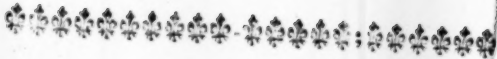


Licensed January
9th 166 $\frac{8}{9}$


Roger L'Estrange





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9th 166 $\frac{8}{9}$

Roger L'Estrange



THE
Present State
OF THE
REPUBLICK
OF
V E N I C E,

As to the Government,
Laws, Forces, Riches, Man-
ners, Customs, Revenue,
and Territory of that
Common-Wealth:

With a Relation of the present War in
C A N D I A.

Written by J. Gailbard, Gent.

L O N D O N,
Printed for John Starkey at the
Mitre in Fleetstreet near
Temple Bar, 1669.



2680:12

TO THE
Right Honourable
Sir John Trevor,
One of His
MAJESTIES
Principal Secretaries
OF
STATE.

Right Honourable,



Our Excellent Name is
not only in Lustre here,
where the wisdom of
a most intelligent and clear-
sighted.

The Epistle

fighted Prince hath chosen you to so great and near a Trust, to the perfect Content and Satisfaction of all sober and dis-interested Persons; But among Strangers, (those of the greatest Power and Intimacy with their Princes) your Prudence and Conduct hath rendred you so conspicuous, that at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and at *Paris*, they all gave you the happy *Omen* of being at your Return into *England*, in no less a Station then that in which his Majesties Wisdom, and most Judicious Election, hath placed you.

Your

Dedatory.

Your Goodness will therefore forgive me, at the least (and this Nation will, I am confident, be far from reproaching me) that I assume a Liberty of making to you a Tender of the Productions of my Industry and Observation, in a Discourse of such Affairs, Negotiations, and Managements, as hold so near a proportion with the grandeur of your Spirit, and Eminency of your Charge.

The *Republick* of *VENICE*, as it is Ancient and Venerable, so it is Strong and Vigorous; as her frequent wrestlings with

The Epistle

Popes, Emperours, Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and other Potent Neighbours (in all which Encounters she hath come off with Honour) and most of all, her honourable struglings with the *Ottoman Power* can Testifie. And that she is Grave and Wise, let that one instance of many suffice, (*viz.*) her judicious untwisting that formidable League at *Cambray*.

That this Wise *Republick* hath sometimes been seen in Troubles and Disorder, is no more to be wondred at, then that Clocks or Watches should be sometimes amiss;

Dedictory.

miss; not for any defect of Art, but by reason of the moisture or other intemperateness of weather: So here, the distemper of times, more then the default of Governours, hath sometimes produced disorders, though perhaps more rarely then in most Nations in *Christendom*.

Her Princes are the Sons of Nobles, instructed early in the Discipline and Concerns of their Country; And like true *Heroes*, have for almost a Thousand years protected this *Virgin* from the Rude Attaques of those *Hectors* and impetuous *Assaillants*,

The Epistle

that have at several times been attempting to violate her Honour.

It had been an unexcusable indecency for me to have made my present Address to a person of any other sort, than to one whose temper of mind, and known Abilities, were proportionably formed to those great Affairs, which are the subject of the present Discourse: In whose person is united the Genius of so many of those Excellent Men, who in their several Ages were the Oracles and Generous Supporters of their Country.

With

Dedictory:

With these Impressions I secure my self of Your Honours Candour and Condescention, and in all Humility, presume to subscribe my Self,

Right Honourable,

Your most Obedient, and

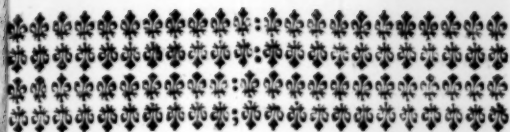
most Humble Servant,

J. Gailhard.



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TO THE
READER.

I*T was a Saying of Solomon, There is no new thing under the Sun: We who live some Thousands of years after him, have much more reason to say so, seeing we have the experience of so many who came after him, and went before us. It is certainly true, that the world follows now the same course as it did before, and all the works of God*
and

To the Reader.

and Nature are submitted to that Order which he settled them in from their Creation; the day succeeds to the night, one season to another, and the stars have the same motions & influences as they had long ago: So it is in matter of Arts and Sciences, which for certain we derive from some of those who went before us, from whom we received some hints, and direct or indirect lights and directions about them: The very opinions about matters of Divinity or Philosophy, which to some seem new, were of old: And in this sense there is no new thing under the Sun. Yet every particular man hath not the knowledge of every one of these things; and though they had, yet some additions may be made to them, there being degrees of Knowledge and Science, and every

To the Reader.

every Art may receive some additional degree of perfection; all do not know all things alike, and some thing is ever left to be acquired by our Labours, Studies and Industry: And as those who come last, stand upon the Shoulders of others, so they can see further off; and to the experience of the former, they may joyn their own Observations, and so carry things further then they were before. Therefore rational and judicious men will slight nothing, but they will hear and see before they approve or condemn; and yet when they are come to that, they will be wary, according to that Lesson which the Rabbies say Moses gave the Children of Israel at his coming down from the Mountain, before the reading of the Law to them, Be quick to hear,

To the Reader.

hear, slow to speak, slower to anger, and slowest of all to judge. *It is a charitable disposition in some to be imitated by all, to pass by the defects of some things, for the sake of some perfections in the same. And indeed it is but justice; that as the good which is in a thing or person cannot justify the evil in the same; so that evil should not make others condemn the good which is in it; but as I condemn a man for his Vices, so I must commend him for his Vertues; for I would esteem what deserves to be esteemed, wheresoever I find it.*

And as I do so as to the persons of others, the same method I ought to observe about their works. It is an universal truth, that every thing here hath its failings

To the Reader.

failings and defects. We find spots in the Moon, but withall there is a light in it; as long as we receive no harme by the one, and the other is beneficial to us, let us be content with it. Furthermore, we know that it is not usual (and I dare say possible) to find one who excells in every thing, but every one applies himself to that which most of all suits his Genius and Inclination, and consequently, is the more likely to succeed in it; wherefore we ought to hearken to any one about things which are in his own way, and we must not judge till we have seen; this being the Rule, judge not before the time.

*I desire the Reader to observe it on this occasion: for, to
carry*

To the Reader.

carry on the design I have undertaken, I must in some things tread the steps of others; neither can it be expected in reason, that the State of so ancient and so flourishing a Republick, should have been kept from the knowledge of other Nations: she hath acted so important a part upon the Stages of EUROPE and ASIA, that the best Writers have had matter enough afforded them to satisfy the curiosity of those that were nigh and far off about it; yet all have used different wayes, and those who have written after, were never the lesse acceptable for it, because there is ever one thing or other to be added, omitted or altered, for no man saith all that can be said upon a Subject; and if just when things are upon
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To the Reader.

*the Stage men do not agree about their true state, what shall it be when they are related a long time after? So that People judge of them not onely according to their inclination, but also conjunctures and emergencies do in time very much alter the face of things; though in some Republicks they are not so subject to alteration as in most Monarchies; for let persons be what they please, the Lawes still remain the same, and they are the Sovereign; but in the Government of single Persons they alter according to the inclination of the Prince, and the mind of his Ministers, as they are over-ruled by the necessity of Affairs: which I speak of, not that I should think it to be an inconveniency attending Monarchies, so far from it, that I look
upon*

To the Reader.

upon it as one of the greatest advantages of this Government over Republicks; for a liberty is allowed to find remedies fit and proper for new distempers felt or feared, when others are doting upon the idol of their old wayes, there wanting in Republicks a person by whose Authority all the rest may be over-swayed, and be brought to that which the present reason of State, differing from the former, doth require.

The present Wars of Candia, (which is the chief, and one place besides excepted, the only stage of action in these parts of the world) and some kind of superficial knowledge I have of the Affairs of Italy, made me chuse the State of Venice, as the most important that could be spoken of in the present
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To the Reader.

Conjuncture; the more, because I thought men would have the curiosity to know the condition of that Common-Wealth, which at present makes so much noise in the World, by reason of her stout and vigorous opposition to so dreadful an Enemy as the Turk is. And also I am obliged to answer a Challenge I received from some persons of Note, to perform a conditional kind of promise I made in my book of The present State of Italy, in the place where I treat of this Republick, to give a Relation of it: Besides that, the subject is so worthy in it self, that I could not treat of any Outlandish State better regulated then this is, though of late, through the private ends of particular men, some corruptions are crept into it, as at one time or other it hath ever fallen
out

To the Reader.

out with the best Common-Wealths in the World: wherefore in this case I speak the good and the bad, I neither flatter nor slander, but I commend and condemn, as I see occasion for it, though I do not undertake to pass any judgement upon things, only I lay them down in their own natural colours.

*In pursuance of my Design, I could not omit some things spoken by others, because they are obvious and necessary, which is unavoidable in things that have the nature of a Common-Place: But I desire the Reader would take the pains to compare, then he will easily observe the difference of methods, and how much I endeavour to use a clear and a substantial Discourse. And because I know that now men care not for long and
dear*

To the Reader.

dear Books, some having not much time, and others no money to spare that way; therefore I have studied brevity, for fear of being tedious, and have compiled a Book (if I may so name these few leaves) which shall be cheap, and little enough to be easily carried in a mans pocket; and it will be a great satisfaction to me if ever I do any thing which may prove acceptable and useful to the Nation. And as Books as well as Cloathes must be modish and fashionable, as now in France their Memoires, and in England Relations; and because a Lustre is to be given to things, and (to please Book-sellers) a considerable name to Relations, In this I have conformed myself to that method.

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T H E
Present State
O F
V E N I C E.



O write well of so worthy a Subject, would require the pen of a publick Minister, endued with a transcendent capacity, who for many years had resided on the place, and managed many publick important affairs, and in a Conjunction which had produced many Changes and Revolutions, and several events increased and multiplied by reason of the violence of the minds of men of inveterate enmity, inward passions, and of nigh and remote interests, and who being taught by age, times and experience, which are the right guides, the safe and faithful com-

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panion s

panions of the actions of men, had thereby had fair occasions of framing a perfect and true Relation of the State of this Republick. But this being not the usual practise of publick persons, is more to be wished then hoped for; and therefore liberty for that, is left to particular persons, who being not taken up with publick affairs, may spare some of their time about it. Out of the consideration of this, I am now desirous to give the Publick this token of my zeal and affection, wherein I walk upon good, real and sure grounds: But because I intend to avoid speaking of superfluous and unnecessary things, I will mention those only which may be beneficial and necessary to be known, which I reduce to six heads. The *first* will be about the whole State of which that Republick is at present possessed either by Land or by Sea, and withall something shall be said of the quality of their more considerable in-Land Cities, their Riches, Customes, and Carriage of their Subjects. In the *Second*, I will treat of their yearly incomes and expences. In the *Third*, Of their Land
and

and Sea Forces, whether they be ordinary or extraordinary, and wherein they consist. The *Fourth*, shall be concerning their manner of Government, and the administration of their Lawes and Justice. In the *Fifth*, I intend to speak of the nature and manners of the *Venetians*. And *Lastly*, I will shew how they stand affected to their Neighbours and other Princes of *Europe*.

To begin with the first, I'll say, that this Republick is, by common consent of all men, esteemed to be the first and the greatest in Power and Authority of all other States in *Italy*: because she owes to none but to her self the ground; and beginning of her dignity she ever enjoyed her liberty, and never depended on, nor ever owned any Prince as Superiour: besides that, it is the most ancient of any State in *Italy*: for she had her birth in the Year 421, the 25. of *March* about noon, above 1246 years ago; and all this while she made the Lawes whereby she Governed her self. 'Tis true, she had but a weak and inconsiderable beginning

out of the ruines of some Cities of *Italy*, but in succession of time, and with a continual concourse of people which resorted to it out of all places round about, she is not only grown very rich, but hath also gotten a vast and a Potent Dominion; whence it may well be called a great and a mighty Republick, full of Men, Armes and Riches, more then any other State in *Italy*. which upon the continent, or as they call it, *Terra Firma*, hath three whole Provinces, namely, *Istria*, *Friuli*, with the *Marca Trevigiana*, besides that which she enjoys in *Lombardy*, either towards the Dukedome of *Milan*, or that of *Ferrara*; which Lands joyn-
ing one with another, may also upon occasion supply and assist each other. But upon the Sea, the Dominion of the *Venetians* goes very far, from *Venice* it self as far as *Candia*, which Island alone, if she were in the power of an active Prince, could without question much oppose the ambition and pride of the Common Enemy; for this Kingdom setting forth a considerable number of good Gallies well mann'd, and
pro-

provided, they could with their constant cruising of the *Archipelago* make prizes of, and disturb the Ships which daily pass from *Morea* to *Constantinople*; whence that City is supplied with an extraordinary quantity of Corn, Oates, and other Provisions necessary for that populous place; of which being deprived, the people in't might soon be brought to wants and straits, which might cause in it discontents, tumults, risings and other extremities which despair drives men to: And the truth of this hath really been seen within these few years, when the *Venetians* had stopt the mouth of the *Dardanel*s, which hath discovered to us, that as the strength of the *Ottoman* Empire lies towards *Hungary*, so towards the Sea 'tis very weak, and lies much open to the attempts of an invading Enemy; And this I say to shew how much it concerns Christians, not only to defend *Candia*, which is the only City of the Island left to the *Venetians*, but also to endeavour to drive the *Turk* out of the whole Island.

Beyond *Candia* the Republick hath three petty Islands considerable, not for any benefit drawn out of them, but only for their strength and further security, being as it were the out-works of *Candia*. And if the *Venetians* could drive the *Turk* out of this Kingdome, as it is not impossible, with a considerable strength, they being still the Masters of the Sea, and in possession of the Chief City, it would clearly appear to the world how convenient this is to curb the *Turks* power that way. But besides this, the *Venetians* have the Islands *Corfu*, *Cefalonia*, and *Zante*, with some others dispersed up and down the *Gulf* nigh to the *Continent*, and are members of *Dalmatia*, *Albania* and *Sclavonia*: though to speak the truth, they are places for the most part barren, void of inhabitants, and a nest of Rogues, and wild Beasts, and consequently of no great concernment: So that setting aside the Islands I have named, and few others, the rest are of no benefit, and have more of a shew then of any real advantage; in a word, they are more chargeable then beneficial,
for

for in themselves they produce not all things necessary for their subsistence, but are forced to fetch them from other places, especially their provisions of mouth, wherefore they are inhabited by Seamen, Fishermen, Thieves and Pyrates, who after they have committed many violenees; murders, felonies, and the like, fly into the States of the *Turk's*, or of the *Arch-Duke's*, their Neighbours. But I insist no longer upon this Discourse, but come to the borders and situation of other Dominions of the Republick in *Italy*.

Eastward it borders with the *Arch-Dukes* of *Austria* and *Inspruck*, and the *Adriatick* Sea, now called the *Gulf* of *Venice*. *Westward*, with the *Dukedome* of *Milan*. *Southward*, with the *Dukedome* of *Ferrara*, part of the States *Milan* and of *Mantua*. And towards the *North*, it hath the *Bishoprick* of *Trent*, and a part of the *Grisons* by the means of the *Valtoline*, which is a passage of very great concernment to the *Venetians*, through the which they can bring to their assistance men out of *France*, *Germany* and *Switzerland* :

Within the whole State of the Republick by Land and by Sea, are reckoned 30 Cities, whereof every one is a Bishoprick, and between 70 and 80 Castles, and fortified places : But I intend to speak only of those which are the most considerable, especially by Land. The Chief of these are within the Dominions they have in *Lombardy*, which are inferiour to no other State of *Italy*, in the greatness of the Cities, the number of people, the fruitfulness of the soyl, and plenty of all things necessary to the life of man.

But first of all, I must begin with *Venice*, the Head, and according to the way of Republicks the best, the richest, and the most populous of the State : On every account 'tis a singular place, and (especially by reason of her Site) may be called a wonder of Art and Nature ; for I am sure all *Europe*, and I believe the whole known world doth not afford the like : *Amsterdam* comes the nighest to it, but with a vast difference, which nature, and a great distance of time, have put between those two places. First of all, *Venice* was
built

built by a meer hazzard and necessity, but afterwards the advantage of her Situation being known, many resorted thither willingly upon grounds and deliberation : 'Tis sited upon above 70 little Islands, separated one from another by several Channels : the next place to it from the *Continent*, is at least five miles distant, and between two or three from a neck of land called *Lito*; So that being compassed about with the Sea, she seems to rise out of it, rather then to be built upon it : Out of six places chiefly, as out of so many Ports or Harbours, Namely, *Treporti, il lido Maggiore, di S. Erasmo, delle Castella, di Malamocco, and di Chioggia*, people come to't. Amongst the many Channels which divide the City, there is one called *Canal grande*, which separates the City into two parts, one looks to the *South-west*, and the other faces the *North-east*, and both these parts of *S. Marco* and *Rialto* are joyned by a marvellous bridge, called *Di Rialto* upon the same Channel. Now these Channels, upon the which are thought to be 15000 *Gondolae*, or

Boates, whereby abundance of poor people get a livelihood, are of great conveniency, not only by reason of the narrowness of the streets, which are so far from being able to receive Coaches (of which there are none in *Venice*, nor indeed is there any use for't, nor Sedans, which in those parts of *Italy* are used by none but Princes) that two men in front fill the whole street in some places; they are also convenient for the carrying of things from one place to another, which every moment is necessary to be done by reason of the great Trade, and several Manufactures settled in or about the City: of which their glass-houses at *Murano*, an Island not far distant from the City, are the most famous; this admirable secret they have been so willing to keep to themselves, that under pain of death every workman is forbidden to go out of the State; but what will not men dare out of hopes of gain and profit? Therefore not long since the *French* found out a way to perswade several of them to the number of 8 or 10 to go into *France*,
where

where they are settled, and succeed well by the encouragement they receive from that King. But as this people were married, they had not been long away from their Wives, when they expressed they would have them or else not stay; and such an effectual course was taken to satisfy them in't, that one undertook to carry Letters to their Wives, and to bring them into *France*, wch he effected, though they narrowly escaped those who pursued them.

Now *Venice* is 7 miles in circuit, within which compass are a great number of stately Palaces, built after the *Gothick* way; besides 6 *Schools grandi* adorned, especially that of *S. Rocco*, with a number of extraordinary pictures, as are great many of their fine Churches; Within it are accounted to be above 300000 souls: and as it is a delicious place, specially for sensual pleasures, so 'tis an invitation to many strangers to come to it, who are thought to be, comparing one day with another, no less then 30000, and hereby one must conceive the excellent good order settled to bring all manner of necessaries
into

into a place where nothing grows, and where if they will have so much as good fresh water, except they have it from the rain, they must bring it from shore, especially from the River *Brenta*.

One would think that a place seated in the midst of, and compassed about with waters, should be very unhealthfull, and have an unwholesome air, there being much filth and corruption cast into the Channels, some of which stink very much, specially in summer: yet for all this, the air is very good, by reason of certain winds which usually blow gently there, and so do purifie it, dissipating the bad vapours. Also the Tide which comes in constantly, carries away the excrements of the City, salt water being no friend to corruption; besides the care which is taken now & then to cleanse these Channels.

But a City sited as this is, must be very strong; indeed this situation is so advantagious, that she may disturb others, and not be disturbed, but with extraordinary and almost unconquerable difficulties, for great ships cannot come nigh to it, the water not being deep enough to receive them, especially

ly when the Tide is gone ; and yet it is too deep for any Land Forces, either Horse or Foot, to come nigh to it : These waters do also much contribute to her safety within ; for certainly 'tis very advantagious to the peace and quietness of a State, when Subjects are so distant in places, as not to have an easie communication one with another : Now by the means of the Channels in *Venice*, people cannot without a long time and great difficulties (besides the danger of being discovered) meet to plot, and especially to execute any Design against the State ; for the Channels are so narrow, their *Tragbetti*, staires, or landing places, on both sides of the Channels so few, and their bridges so strait, as are their streets, that there is no coming to a Body. Furthermore, the people having reason to be content in many things, could hardly be brought to entertain any such thoughts ; for the State hath wisely considered how necessary it is for Rulers to gratifie people in slight things, and of no moment, though they must oppose them in those of a great

great and weighty concernment; for he who is severe and rigid in every thing, who never yields nor dissembles, but shews himself wilfull, morose and un placable, doth nothing else but dispose, provoke, and use people to debates and quarrels.

I must come to *Padoa*, a very Noble and ancient City, greater then any of the rest under that Republick: for she is above seven miles about, very strong, with Bulworks, and a very deep and broad ditch, counterscarp, and other necessary fortifications for the defence of a place of such an importance: seeing the possession of this, was the foundation and the ground of the *Venetians* inlarging their Dominion towards *Lombardy*, by which means afterwards by degrees, and under several pretences they got further and further. In this City is the most Famous University of all *Italy*, by reason of the eminent learning of its Doctors, in all Professions, and of the great number of Schollars: The Country about it doth abound in all manner of Pulse, Oates, Gattel, Wool, Linnen Gloath, and Fish;

Fish ; but two things cause a great prejudice to it ; The first is, That she is too nigh *Venice* : which with the convenience of a Navigable River, conveys from thence in vaste quantities the things I expressed : insomuch , that sometimes it hath been necessary to get back from *Venice*, things necessary for the subsistence of that City. A Second thing which prejudices that place, is, because many years ago, particular men in *Venice* having neglected their Sea affairs, have given themselves to purchase in the *Padovano*, *Trevisano*, and *Polesene*, Territories in such aquantity, that at present the Nobles of *Venice* have three parts of four in that of *Padova*, to the great impoverishment of the inhabitants, who formerly had competent means to live well upon, but are now poor : there being not above five or six families worth above 2000 Crowns a year, and none of the rest hath 1000 : And were it not for the great concourse of Schollers, especially out-landish, they would be in a worse condition. On the other side, some of the Venetian Nobility make
use

use of their prerogative with so much liberty and authority, that the *Padoans* look upon themselves to be in a miserable condition, as indeed this City is the hardest dealt withall of all others within that State of the Republick; the reason is, that those of *Padoa* being of a proud and revengefull nature, upon the least occasion they fall out, commit extravagancies, and kill one another, after which immediately their goods are confiscated, and presently bought by some *Venetian*. Furthermore, this people is so given to do mischief, that they are almost undone before they can come off the troubles they brought thereby upon themselves.

After *Padoa* comes *Vicenza*, which though she be no great City, is at least as well peopled as the former, there being in it above 30000 persons; 'tis a fair City, pleasant, plentiful, and very rich, but the people are dangerous, offensive and cruel. In all the State of *Venice*, there are no Subjects so bloody and revengeful as the *Vicentines* are accounted to be; whom 'tis no prudence

to

to trust; The reason of it is, because their faults and wickednesses are but lightly punished, except it be in very horrid crimes, wherof the cause is, That in point of criminal justice, the *Venetian* Magistrates in *Vicenza* may give no sentence without the advice of some of the Chief Citizens who are appointed for that purpose, by vertue of an ancient priviledge of the City, of whom one half are Gown-men, and the other half are Trades-men, and they ever have a share in matters of justice with the *Rettore* and his Court; and this jurisdiction is called the *Consolaria*; whence it is that constantly they over-vote the *Potesta* (this is the name of the Chief Magistrate in every City) and his Court: This is their way of absolving or chastizing the guilty for the faults which daily are committed amongst them; but because the Republick took notice, that in crimes of a higher nature, justice was not duly administred, after a debate upon the matter it was resolved to elect an extraordinary Magistrate, called *Avogadore*, who upon occasion of hainous faults

faults should go into the City to get secret informations of the whole business, which being done, he brings it to *Venice*, where sentence is pronounced. Thus great mischiefs are restrained, and justice is duly executed : but this manner of proceeding displeases very much, and causes great alterations in the minds of those high spirits, who see their priviledges are thereby weakned and derogated from ; however, the *Vicentines* seeing they have in their hands no strong holds, nor none that can be made such , think it fit to yield obedience in a thing which is just in it self.

Now follows the City of *Verona*, which hath six miles in circuit ; she is one of the fairest within the *Venetian* Dominions, with a very large Ditch, Counterscarps, and good Bulwarks; in the midst of it is the *Castle*, very strong, stored with all manner of provision and ammunition ; the City is strongly seated in the midst of a great , open, and champion Country, and in a place somewhat high, 'tis backt with some little hills, upon the which is another Castle,

Castle, with other strong fortifications, which command the Countrey about : and through the middle of the City runs the River *Agide*, very great and navigable, which falling into the *Gulf of Venice*, the City may easily receive thence supplies of men and provision. She is one of the Chief Keyes of *Italy*, towards *Germany*, as it appeared clearly in the wars of *Maximilian*, and *Charles* the fifth, Emperours against the Republick. That it hath been a considerable City the Amphitheatre there, which is the least defaced of any in *Italy*, doth testifie : and Histories tell us, that when some of the Family *Scala* were Lords of it, she was the head of a potent State, of which *Padoa*, *Vicenza*, *Treviso*, *Ceneda*, *Belluno*, *Feltre*, *Brescia*, *Parma*, and *Luca*, were members.

Part of its Territory is barren, of sixty miles in length ; but for the unfruitfulness, there is never great plenty in the City, which as well as *Vicenza* hath the *Consolaria* ; and though those of *Verona* be not so bad as the *Vicentini*, nor do not so many mischiefs, yet
upon

faults should go into the City to get secret informations of the whole business, which being done, he brings it to *Venice*, where sentence is pronounced. Thus great mischiefs are restrained, and justice is duly executed : but this manner of proceeding displeases very much, and causes great alterations in the minds of those high spirits, who see their priviledges are thereby weakned and derogated from ; however, the *Vicentines* seeing they have in their hands no strong holds, nor none that can be made such , think it fit to yield obedience in a thing which is just in it self.

Now follows the City of *Verona*, which hath six miles in circuit ; she is one of the fairest within the *Venetian* Dominions, with a very large Ditch, Counterscarps, and good Bulwarks; in the midst of it is the *Castle*, very strong, stored with all manner of provision and ammunition ; the City is strongly seated in the midst of a great , open, and champion Country, and in a place somewhat high, 'tis backt with some little hills, upon the which is another Castle,

Castle, with other strong fortifications, which command the Countrey about : and through the middle of the City runs the River *Agide*, very great and navigable, which falling into the *Gulf of Venice*, the City may easily receive thence supplies of men and provision. She is one of the Chief Keyes of *Italy*, towards *Germany*, as it appeared clearly in the wars of *Maximilian*, and *Charles* the fifth, Emperours against the Republick. That it hath been a considerable City the Amphitheatre there, which is the least defaced of any in *Italy*, doth testifie : and Histories tell us, that when some of the Family *Scala* were Lords of it, she was the head of a potent State, of which *Padoa*, *Vicenza*, *Treviso*, *Ceneda*, *Belluno*, *Feltre*, *Brescia*, *Parma*, and *Luca*, were members.

Part of its Territory is barren, of sixty miles in length ; but for the unfruitfulness, there is never great plenty in the City, which as well as *Vicenza* hath the *Consolaria* ; and though those of *Verona* be not so bad as the *Vicentini*, nor do not so many mischiefs, yet upon

upon extraordinary cases the *Avogadore* is sent to them; which the more it appears unjust, the more 'tis unsufferable for them to see this breach made to their priviledges, and they are the more exasperated when they see that Governours act sometimes contrary to their Laws and Customs. Within the Jurisdiction of this City are two indifferent good strong holds; one is *Legnago* towards the *Mantuan*, which also doth defend that part of the *Padoan*; the other is *Peschiera*, of a far greater concernment then the former, for 'tis accounted to be the Key of all other places beyond the River *Mincio*: whence 'tis easie to make incursions upon all other places thereabouts; if once this were lost, all the rest would be in a great danger: Those of *Verona* are accounted to be of a proud nature, & of a fantastical humour. To this purpose, I think it not amiss to mention a Proverb usual in those parts, when some great mischief hath been committed there (which happens very often) they use to say, *Such a mischief hath been committed according to the custome of*

of Padoa, Vicenza and Verona : whereby is meant the number of murthers without grounds, which is according to the temper of the people : The truth is, a great number of murthers and of like mischiefs is daily committed in those Countries, and in the rest of the Republick, and as far as I could observe, this is chiefly caused by the example of some of the Nobles, and by the favour they shew to delinquents in such cases. 'Tis very strange, that upon a Tryal for a mans Estate, no body will speak a word for him ; for in this matter they are just enough ; but upon life and death, for murder, or any other wicked act, provided it be not against the State, there will be friends enough to speak on ones behalf ; So that in this, justice often is corrupted by favour. Those of *Verona* are further of a High and Lordly carriage, because they are very rich, but spend it very profusely, and often they run very deep into debts.

Then is *Brescia*, a very Noble City, sited in a levelled ground, yet at the foot

foot of some hills : it hath four miles, and two hundred paces in circuit. Upon the hill is a Castle of very great strength, with Ravelins, Bullwarks, and sure places for succours infallibly to come in, with such store of provision and ammunition, that according to probability they may hold out for several years in their own defence. There are also springs of very good water ; with a matter of six score pieces of Ordinance. Between the City and the Castle are places underground, and Vaults very deep, through the which can come to them all manner of relief. Above the City is a ditch of thirteen paces broad, with Bullwarks, and the Walls have good Ramparts ; in it are above 62000 Inhabitants, who are so throng'd by reason of the great quantity of Wares, especially of all manner of Armes, that in it there is no place empty ; and as *Verona* is the fairest, this is the richest, and the most Merchant of all others : There are not many fine houses, for those of *Brescia* do not much care for the Magnificence of Palaces. The Territory

ritory is 100 miles in length, and 50 in breadth, and about 300 in compass, and is full of all things. This City hath within her Jurisdiction, above 240 Towns, wherein are accounted to be 350000 Souls : Moreover the City enjoys a very noble privilege, (*viz.*) That no man, of what Nation soever he be, though he were a *Venetian*, may purchase any Lands within her Territory, except he be a *Brescian*; and herein doth consist the safety and the greatness of that people, all the States thereabouts remaining incorporated to the Citizens. So that for this, as other Concessions which the Republick hath granted them; Namely, That the Citizens are chosen to be *Reċtors Potestá*, or Magistrate of all Towns and Castles within their Jurisdiction : *Brescia* is the happiest of all other Cities within the State of the Republick. They have further in their hands two Fortresses of concernment, (*viz.*) *Asola* and *Orcinovi*, which last hath been of late repaired, and reduced to a perfect and Royal Fortification; 'tis of the bigness of a
mile

mile and a half, seated in a Champion Countrey, and flank'd or sided by seven Bullwarks, with a large and a deep ditch; in a word, 'tis safe enough upon all occasions. Those of *Brescia* are very rich, and consequently proud; their Pomp and Ambition is to keep a great Attendance, and to set forth themselves and their Women in Cloaths, Coaches, Liveries, and fine Horses, but above all, they delight in great, delicious, and costly banquets; yet they take great pleasure to stand upon their Armes, as much as in any thing else; and so they may well do, more then any other place subject to the *Venetians*: for the Republick is but slow, and very circumspect, as in Ruling, so in punishing them, because 'tis a frontier place towards the *Milane's* and the *Brescians* are very sensible of wrongs; besides that, being so remote, the *Venetians* are not so well acquainted with them, and cannot reach them so well as they do other nearer Cities. Nevertheless they are not free from burthens, for as it is the best of their Cities, so they lay upon it great Taxes,

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Contributions and quartering of Soldiers, for the Republick is in a perpetual jealousy of that place, caused by her Neighbour-hood with *Milan*, whence some attempts could be made upon it, and some succours called in, in case of a defection; and should the *Venetian* lose it, they would thereby be deprived of one of the Chief members of their Republick.

Bergamo is a pleasant City, which many years ago was much fortified, it being also upon the frontiers of the *Dukedome* of *Milan*: She is 3 miles about, strengthened with 9 Bulwarks, and some Counterforts raised upon a hill of a considerable height, which are as a platform to the City, which is well stored with all necessaries, for provision and ammunition: There are above 26000 Souls in it, and not many more within the Territory, which is poor and barren, producing Corn to serve only 6 moneths in the year: this is the reason wherefore this people being not very well to live at home, do disperse themselves through the world more then any of their Neighbours:

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They

They are so full of wit, though otherwise of a boorish conversation, that where they go, they Trade so as to grow very rich for the most part; and in *Venice* particularly, there are those of *Bergamo*, whose Fathers and Relations have been Porters, and such inferior sort of people, who at present have Lands, Palaces, and other great Riches. In *Bergamo* they live very contentedly, because by reason of their poverty, and the barrenness of their Countrey, they are the less burthened: and being so remote they suffer not the injuries which others undergo. They trade in Wools, wherewith they make broad cloaths, which in houses are used instead of hangings; they have also some Iron mines; it borders with the *Valteline* on the North, with *Milan* on the West, with the *Cremonese* on the South, and with the *Brescian* on the East. The whole length is 50 miles, and the breadth 36; it hath within her Jurisdiction 236 places, the people whereof minde Wool and Cattel.

The City of *Crema* is the last place the Republick hath in *Lombardy*: sited in a level ground, but built after the old *Gothick* way, and of late hath been repaired with all possible industry; they have made to it some Bulwarks, Ramparts, Platforms, and other chargeable Fortifications, besides the enlarging of the Ditch. It is two miles about in compass, and contains 26000 Souls; her Territory is so narrow, that 'tis not above 25 miles in length, but it is so fruitful, and hath such a plenty of all things necessary to life, that not only it may compare with any, but also goes beyond the most plentiful of all *Lombardy*, supplying others which want it; 'tis said to produce at least 250000 horse loads of all mannet of Corn, besides great quantities of Flax and Wines. This City is seated in the midst of the Territories of *Cremona*, *Lodi*, and other places of the *Milan's*, so that there is but one way to go to it, and on all sides it is beset and compassed about (as it were a prison) with souldiers, and is kept with an extraordinary care and watchfulness.

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All the places which the *Venetians* have in *Lombardy* are very considerable, then which better cannot be seen nor desired: because those Cities are reckoned amongst the greatest in *Italy*, and are very populous, rich, full of trade, and which for abundance and plenty of all things may compare with any in that Country; but they go beyond in stateliness of buildings, in the extent of many great and rich Towns and Castles, and in every thing else that proceeds from mans industry. One only thing there is, whereat the people are dissatisfied, (*to wit*) the insolency of severall of the Nobles: who would every one of them be lookt upon as their Master and Superior, and be respected, yea, obeyed in things which are neither just nor honest; because these take upon themselves the command by the connivance of other Nobles who will not oppose them; whence do arise sometimes to people great dammages ruine and misery: So much the best of things are subject to be abused.

But

But I will proceed and say, that at present the *Venetians* have a State in *Terra Firma*, or upon the *Continent*, which is extended above 1000 miles, which they made a shift to get by the improvement they made of the occasions given them by their Leagues and Confederacies with the Dukes of *Savoy*, the *Visconti* or Duke of *Milan*, with the *Florentines*, *French* and other *Nations*, for they were sure to keep better that which they got nearer at hand. Thus, first of all, *Trevigi* fell into their hands, then *Verona*, afterwards *Brescia*, and so from hand to hand, all the forenamed places in *Lombardy*, besides those of *Dalmatia* and *Albania*, formerly Subjects to the Crown of *Hungary*: because the Republick ever declaring her self the head of the Liberty of *Italy*, she got and united to her former State one thing or other: as in the Wars of *Ferrara*, she had *Il possesene di Rovigo*, and so it hath been of the rest of her State, either by Land or by Sea. And to speak the truth, the Republick hath laid the foundation of her Dominions just

as the *Turks*, and others have done of theirs, that is, by the means of Divisions, Differences and Quarrellings between Neighbours : and also by reason of so many petty Lords, who falling out one with another, became in time an easie prey to the Republick, which probably would have attempted and effected the same over the rest of *Italy*, if they had seen grounds and favourable occasions to do it.

Besides the State of *Lombardy*, the Republick hath 3 whole Provinces, namely *Istria*, *Friuli*, and *Marca Trevigiana*; in the first are five, though small Cities, with some Castles; but because their air is very bad, and somewhat infectious, the Countrey is not peopled, and so the ground is neglected and barren; yet for all this, the Republick draws out of it a great profit from the Salt which is made there in great abundance, besides other necessary provisions, as *Flesh*, *Fish*, *Wood*, *Timber*, *Fewel*, *Oyl*, and excellent *Free-Stone*, with other things from thence carried to *Venice*. The Province of *Friuli* hath three Cities, one is

is *Aquileja*, that ancient City, which upon good reason may be called, the Mother of *Venice*; for, this last was peopled in part by the inhabitants of the former: It is a Patriarchate of which Cardinal *Delphini* is the present Patriarch: The *Romans* built it to stop the Incurfions into *Friuli* of the Enemies of the Empire, this being the paffage through the *Carnichian Alpes*, which yet could not be fecured by the places of *Gradifca* and *Goritia*; for in the dayes of *Bajazet*, the *Turks* came that way between the two Towns, almost to the Gates of *Trevigi*; therefore the *Venetians* have built there *Palma*: But befides *Aquileja*, there are two other Cities, the one is *Udine*, and the other *Cividal*; the firft is fited in a Champion Countrey, and the laft between the Mountains, fcant of Corn, but rich in Cattel and Wines, as is the whole Countrey, which wines are carried into feveral parts of *Italy*; it hath alfo fome Iron and Steele in *Cadore*, a Fortrefs ftrongly fited upon a hill. In this Province is alfo that extraordinary ftrong place *Palma Nuova*, which

is a wonder to beholders, having been built with all the Art and Industry which the spirit of men could devise, according to the best rules of Fortification.

De Marca Trevigiana hath 3 small Cities, whereof the Chief is *Treviso*, very strong by reason of the situation, and that it cannot be undermined: This Country abounds with Corn, Fish, Wines, all manner of Pulse; Beasts, Cattel, and Fruits, but above all, with Timber for the *Arsenal*; amongst several Woods: there being one of 15 miles in length. In that Province are also very Noble and fair Castle-Towns, pretty rich, Merchant and Populous. Lastly, The Republick hath *Il Polesene di Rovigo*, which like another *Puglia* doth wonderfully abound with all manner of Corn, Cattel and Fish: But I will not insist upon this, nor upon what they have in other places, but come to some of their strong Holds.

The Fortifications and strong Holds of all the States of *Venice*, do lye in two places, namely in *Lombardy* upon the Frontiers

Frontiers of the Dukedome of *Milan*, and toward the Sea side ; the one, because of the Neighbourhood of the *Spaniard*, and the other, by reason of their being exposed to the attempts of the *Turks* : To this effect all their places in *Lombardy* have Garrisons in them more or less. *Orcinovo* is good to help *Créma*, *Brescia* and *Bergamo* ; *Pontevico* is for *Brescia* and *Bergamo*, *Legnago* for *Verona*, *Vicenza* and *Padua* ; so is the Fort of *Peschiero* ; there are also Garrisons in their places along the Sea ; in *Friuli* is the most important Fortrefs *Marano* ; seated between Ponds and Moorish grounds, then *Palma*, *Monfalcone*, with *Osigo* and *Cadore* little Holds, and able to receive only a small Garrison, but of a very strong Situation, being on the top of Mountains and Rocks. In *Slavonia* are *Ziea* strongly built, *Catara*, of a strong situation, and *Glista*, a most important place within these few years conquered by the Republick ; *Trau* also and *Sebenico* are very good places, and the Castle of *S. Nicolò de Sebenico* is very strong. I shall hardly mention the

Islands, *Corfú*, *Cefalonia* and *Zante*, which being Out-works against the *Turk* have been fortified very much; and seeing the City of *Candia* hath holden out so long against the *Turk*, I think I am dispensed to speak of her strength; only I'll add, that in those things which concern the Defence of their States, they have spared neither charges nor pains: and they keep their places constantly provided with ammunition, and necessary provisions for many years, whereby they are secured from all invasions: especially their Cities in *Lombardy*, which are able not only to receive, but also to destroy, any considerable Army: And let this be enough concerning the Land and Sea States of that Republick.

The Revenues and yearly Incomes are at present very great; not so much by reason of their Trade by Sea (which first the *Portuguezes* spoiled, when they found out a way to bring Spices and Jewels from the *Indies*, and now the present War with the *Turk*), as by Land, where, as 'tis already said, they are in possession of some of the greatest Cities

Cities of *Italy*, with very large and most plentiful Territories: seeing *Bergamo* is 50 miles in length, and of a great breadth; that of *Brescia* 100, *Verona* 60 : which Dominions are full of Towns, and of vast numbers of people, which in all, is accounted to come, to above three millions of Souls, all very industrious and much given to Trade: Where are also Bishopricks, Abbies, and Monastries of all sorts, of the richest of *Italy*, and Families illustrious for their Nobleness of extraction and quality, and very considerable by the greatness of their riches: which to speak of (especially those of *Venice*) are vast and exceeding great. So we might mention those of great Cities, chiefly in *Lombardy*, which upon occasion can assist, as they have done it of late years, and relieve the necessities of the Republick in other places; In-
somuch that the State yields to no other Countrey for plenty of all things: wherein *Venice* being the Head of all, may be accounted a happy City, if that may be called a true happiness which depends upon the will of others;

thers; for *Venice* wants within her self every thing necessary to life, wherewith she is supplied part from her own States, from the Popes, from the *Spanish* in *Italy*, from the *Turks*, and in some things out of *England*, and other places: which supplies if she were deprived of, she could soon fall into great wants. So it is not to be wondered at, if that Republick uses all possible means, and is at great charges (and even now with great danger, by reason of the present War) to be at peace, and hold good correspondence with the *Ottamons*: because her Islands, Rivers, and the rest of her States nigh the Sea, are much exposed to danger and invasions from thence, even to their utter ruine and destruction; besides, that *Venice*, as I have said, hath no Territory sufficient to subsist by, and her Islands, Rivers and Sea-Towns do not produce provisions sufficient for the third part of the year; so that they are continually depending for supplies upon other places, and no Prince can do it so plentifully, with so much ease, and less charges, then the
Turk,

Turk, who withdrawing these supplies, can put them to inconveniencies: as they find it by experience in the present War, which now doth almost wholly interrupt the Sea trade, and in part that by Land. And as *Venice* is a Merchant City, those riches which are drawn from the *Levant*, must needs receive some prejudice by it: which being very well known to that Republick, although the War be very hot in *Candia*, after the death of their late Minister at that Court, they have sent *Molino* to supply his place; and they will ever embrace Peace upon any tolerable conditions. To this may be added the institution and form of Government of the Republick, which is ayming at peace, having found out by her own experience, how much she is concerned to preserve it.

But to return again to the present Subject, I will say, that the riches of that State in a peaceable condition and before the late War, were raised to above three Millions and a half of Gold by the year, which is a very considerable sum: since we find, that several years ago, though the Republick

publick were in actual possession of the Kingdome of *Cyprus* and *Candia*, and of some other places, both by Land and by Sea, their yearly Revenue did not exceed two Millions and an half. But the Farmes have been so raised, Customs, Taxes, and other burthens, so increased (though to the great prejudice of Subjects) that it cannot be otherwise. The City of *Venice*, one year with another, yields above one Million and an half of Duckets (pieces of gold, worth nine shillings and six-pence of *English* money) raised upon Wines (for every Pipe brought in, five Duckets are paid, and so of the *Malmſie* or *Candy* Wines) Salt, of which there is abundance, and very dear, and of all imported or exported Commodities: the Republick furnishing ſeveral parts of *Italy* and *Germany* with Drugs, Wax, Glasses and Cryſtals, Sope, Silk, Silver and Gold, Manufactures, Iron-works, and ſeveral other things; they alſo make a great benefit of Fiſh, Fleſh, Oyls, and of the Ware-houſes which *Germany* have in the City, of Taxes upon Lands, Houſes, and other Goods not moveable;

moveable; so that in the City of *Venice* alone, out of all the forenamed things, they raise one Million, six hundred ninety seven thousand, seven hundred twenty two Duckets.

From *Padoa*, they have one hundred thirty six thousand and seventy eight Duckets.

From *Vicenza*, One hundred thirty four thousand seven hundred and forty two Duckets.

From *Verona*, Two hundred and thirteen thousand, and eighty four Duckets.

From *Brescia*, Three hundred thirty seven thousand, six hundred ninety three Duckets.

From *Bergamo*, One hundred four thousand, seven hundred thirty Duckets.

From *Crema*, Thirty seven thousand five hundred and twenty six Duckets.

From the whole *Potesene*, Forty thousand ninety seven Duckets.

From the Province called *Marca Trevigiana*, in all, One hundred eighty four thousand four hundred eighty five Duckets.

From

From the Province of *Friuli*, Fifty two thousand seven hundred sixty six Duckets.

From *Istria*, Six thousand two hundred thirty four Duckets.

From all the *States* of the Sea, Eight hundred seven and thirty thousand, nine hundred sixty six Duckets.

Which all sum'd up together, makes Three Millions, seven hundred, nine and fifty thousand, one hundred twenty one Duckets.

These are their ordinary Incomes, but upon extraordinary occasions they also have several other wayes of raising monies; namely, by raising of Taxes, or calling twice a year for that which should be paid but once; So they do of *Farmes* and *Customes* upon imported or exported *Commodities*: they also lessen the pay of their great Officers, and reduce it to half of what it was before; and if this be not enough, they admit into the Order of the Nobility, whom they think fit: every one paying 100000 Crowns for it. Further, they sell some places, which at other

other times are freely given. Thus they have so much increased the number of the *Procuratori*, or Proctors of *S. Mark*. And last of all, they borrow monies from particular persons: and upon urgent necessity, several of the Nobles make sometimes liberal and free Contributions: as indeed many who are mighty rich, are very able to do it.

On the other side, their expences are very great and necessary, because as I said before, all their Dominions at Sea and Land, being compassed about or bordered by the *Turks* Territories, and other Princes; the Republick is forced, besides the charges of buildings, repairings, fortifications and ammunitions, to keep in every place good and strong Garrisons both of Horse and Foot, which are very chargeable; the number of their ordinary Guards and Garrisons by Land and by Sea, in time of peace comes to 10000 Foot, and 700 Horse: but every year there is occasion of some extraordinary expences both at Sea and Land. But how great must they be now; by reason of the War

War with the *Turk*, which hath lasted these several years ? But because the expences of the Republick, with admirable order and exact rule, are assigned to several Offices, I think it will be profitable and necessary to know the particulars of it : as I received them from knowing and credible persons.

About the charges and expences of the Republick, there are several Offices, and under several names, called by them *Casse*, Chests, or places where they lay up things: which signifies nothing else but a distribution or assignment of all the monies raised out of the Revenue, and to be disposed of, by such a Chest in *Venice*. So that every one of these *Casse* hath its particular incomes assigned to it out of such Customs, Taxes, or the like. Wherefore the Chamberlains, *Camerlengh*, as they call them, or rather Treasurers of the City, are ordered to pay unto every one of these Chests or Offices in *Venice* the revenues assigned to them : which afterwards they lay out according to order peculiar to every Office, and this
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in a good and due order without any confusion.

First, There are the expences made by the three Treasurers or Directors, who have the management of the Revenue of the Republick, who have under them Notaries, Writers, casters of Accounts, Overseers, and several others in pay, to keep the particulars of every thing that brings in monies : This Office one year with another doth spend above One thousand four hundred Duckets. There are also the expences of the Chamberlains *di Commune*, who pay the allowance of the *Doge*, their own, of the *Censori, delle Quarantie*, of the *Colledges*, and of other Magistrates who are under pay; their expences one year with another, do amount to one hundred seventy two thousand four hundred and fifty Duckets. Then there are the charges of the *Proveditori di Commune*, whose Office is to build and to repair Bridges, Harbours, Bay foundations, and do other publick buildings : for the which are laid out one year with another, about forty eight thousand three hundred seventy seven Duckets.

Duckets. The Office *Delle Biade*, or of all manner of Corn, for the Salary of the Officers thereof, spends above two thousand seven hundred and ten Duckets.

The Office of the *Soprastanti*, *alle camere*, overseers, or presidents of the Chambers, whose care is to pay the general Officers of War, Colonels, Governours of Cities, the forces of *Terra Firma*, *Dalmatia* and *Albania*, and those who belong to the Office, doth one year with another spend about eight hundred seventy seven thousand on hundred and forty Duckets; but this is to be understood in time of peace, for in time of War, expences are greater, and sometimes uncertain. The Office *Delle Zecche*, or coyning monies, payes workmen about it, and provides all necessary tools and instruments; which amounts to four thousand seven hundred ninety five Duckets.

The Office of the *Sette Savi*, at *Rialto*, spends one year with another five hundred fifty four Duckets. The Office *Della Legna*, about wood, timber, &c. layes out for Salaries seven hundred

dred and eighty Duckets. The Office *Delle Beccarie* gives to many pensioners one thousand three hundred and seventy Duckets by the year. The Office *Dell' Acque*, about waters, in preventing any harm they can do, either towards the shore, or within the land, rivers, lakes, ponds, and the like, by raising banks, sconces, &c. then in lead, water pipes, iron, and other things relating to fountains, doth spend about seventy two thousand six hundred ninety four. The Office *Delle Fortezze*, whose charge it is to make new fortifications or repair the old ones, doth spend by the year above twenty five thousand nine hundred eighty three Duckets.

The Office *delle Raggioni vecchi*, which hath charge to lay out monies for the publick Processions which often are made in *Venice*, payes the charges of the Dukes Chancery, provides the balls wherewith Magistrates do vote and make their Elections, defrayes the reception of those who are received and treated at the publick charges, and payes for the Doge's Funeral: it doth spend

spend about two and twenty thousand six hundred seventeen Duckets. But a considerable expence is that of *the Office about the Arsenal*, upon Officers and Workmen, which amounts one year with an other to twelve thousand seven hundred sixty six Duckets, besides monies laid out upon materials, as timber, hemp, pitch, oares, all manner of tackling, and other things necessary for Ships and Gallies, whereupon they bestow one hundred and twenty thousand two hundred forty five Duckets.

Then follow the expences for the ordinary subsistence of the Forces they keep constantly on Foot for the guard and safety of their Sea dominions; as first the pay of the *Proveditor*, Governour, and other Officers, which amount taking one year with another, to Two hundred sixty seven thousand three hundred ninety six Duckets. Then the charges for the Biskets necessary to the Gallies constantly kept in time of peace, and for victuals, come to Two hundred fifty three thousand, one hundred thirty six Duckets. And for the row-
ers

ers cloathes of Serges; canvas, linnen cloathes, shoes, and such necessary things, they spend thirty nine thousand one hundred forty eight Duckets.

Further, the Exchequor of the *Consiglio di dieci*, doth spend great sums of monies, in the pay of rewards to them who have taken or killed the *Banditi* (men fled away for rebellion or felony) for the guards of the places of *Rialto*, and *San Marco*, for gifts bestowed upon several strangers, for Courriers, Frigates, and the like expences: which come every year, that is, one with another, to One hundred twenty seven thousand, three hundred eighty five Duckets. Then to the Exchequor of the *Collegio*, do belong to make the secretest expences of the State, seeing this Office pays the ordinary expences of Residents, and Ambassadour of the *Bailo* (so they call their Ambassadour there) at *Constantinople*, of the Tributes, gifts and acknowledgements, which in time of peace the Republick payes to the *Turk*: And because this last particular doth above all the rest excite

excite curiosity , I think 'twill not be amiss to say something of it, according to very credible informations given to me about it.

In time of peace usually the Republic paid to the *Turk* for the Kingdom of *Candia* seven thousand five hundred and fifty *Zecchini* (pieces of Gold of of their coyning, every one of which is worth between nine and ten shillings ;) for the Island *Zante* she doth pay five hundred *Zecchini*. There are besides the expences of the ordinary gifts, and of the extraordinary , not only for the *Grand Signior* himself, but also for the *Grand Visiro*, and *Bashaw's*, namely cloath of Gold, Silver, Silk, and of Wool, with rich Beds, Purple, Wax, and several other fine things of a considerable value : and to the *Baili* of the *Levant*, as *Gran Cairo*, *Alexandria*, *Aleppo*, and some few others. Which expences in time of peace have been of of very great concernment, and it hath been accounted one of the greatest interests and concerns of the Republick. And I have been credibly informed, and by judicious and knowing persons,

sons, that before the present War broke forth, the *Ottoman* did cost the Republick at least six hundred thousand Duckets by the year.

The Chest for the ordinary Militiaes of *Candia* and *Corfu* cost two hundred thousand Duckets; that which is to pay *La Cavalleria grossa*, constantly kept on foot, comes to Eighty thousand: The *Cassa*, called *per Loccorrenze*, which defraves the charges for extraordinary emergencies, amounts to One hundred sixty seven thousand, four hundred and forty. *La Cammera de gli imprestiti*, or for lending of monies to them who have occasion for it, is allowed forty thousand Duckets: Out of the use of these monies that are lent, the Republick makes a purse of above One hundred thousand Duckets: which are commonly laid out to buy Corn to make Biskets for the use of the *Armata* or Fleet, and for such other occasions as the publick service doth require.

And this is all I think fit to be said upon this matter: whence it appears, that though the Republick hath year-

ly a great income, yet her disbursements are great also, to supply the ordinary and extraordinary occasions of the State ; for in time of peace (and not at present by reason of this chargeable War, the expences of which cannot be so certain and so regulated as otherwise they are) they come at least to three Millions of Duckets, and they lay up some Six hundred and seventeen thousand, or thereabouts, which is a considerable sum, if a just account was given of it. But as things use to change and alter from what they are at their first beginning ; so it happens to the Republick in this, wherein she receives some alteration in the qualities of persons, and in the fidelity of those who manage their Exchequer ; Many Ministers and Officers of it proving either careless or unfaithful, applying the publick monies to their particular uses, relying upon their power and credit, and upon the favour which they shew one to another ; So that by reason of an interest, or of consanguinity, or some other relation, they do not find any strong opposition ; Besides that all
Offices

Offices in the Republick, excepting that of the Duke and Procurators of S. Mark, being bestowed but for a time, every one is in hopes of being promoted by the help of his friends and interest, whereupon they avoid to make any one their enemies who could hinder them in their design: and by these means one time or other there is a change in every ones condition, and the multitude of those who are concerned will not allow of an exact and strict inquiring into such things; so that this disorder increases every day without hopes of remedy: which in time may happen to cause a malignant and remediless distemper. 'Tis true, that according to the ancient institution of the Republick, they use to lay up a certain sum of monies paid, out of some Revenues appointed to that end, in a particular place or treasure, which in Venetian they call *Casson Grande*, with this inscription;

*Quando questo scrinio S'aprirà
Tutto 'l mondo tremerà:*

That is in *English*;

*When this great Chest shall open be,
The world to tremble you shall
(see.*

Hitherto it hath not been medled with, for all their extraordinary occasions; but 'tis reserved to the last extremity; and as far as I heard some few years ago, it was not much above six Millions of Gold: which cannot be much increased by reason of the present War, which hath forced them to borrow monies. And this is all, I intend to say, about the incomes and expences of this Republick.

I must now speak of her Forces, which do consist in her Armes, and Martial posture; to the perfection of which, and the observation of Military Discipline, four wayes are to be followed. The *First* settles that general manner of Education, whereby men are brought up to obedience unto the Laws, and fitted to undergo hardship, and other inconveniencies which constantly

stantly do attend a warlike profession : and which are the grounds of strength and activity, qualities so necessary to Souldiers. The *Second* shews how to make a right choice of Souldiers, a thing very useful, seeing the diversity of Climates causes such a variety in particular qualifications of Nations ; for, let breeding in every Country be what it will, it can never work in a Souldier born in a hot Country, such a strength of body, an undaunted heart, and a not valuing of death, as it will be found in those who are born and brought up in a cold Climate : who on the other side will not be so prudent, so subtle, and so considerate as the former : and he who is born in a temperate Countrey, is thereby disposed both to prudence and strength : whence appears the errour of that common saying, *He who hath Men, hath Souldiers*. Forms cannot be applied nor imprinted, but according to the disposition of the Matter. The *Third way* gives those orders and directions, which teach how to arm States with their proportion, and the Soul-

diers with those Armes which they are fittest for, because some Nations have greater inclinations and dispositions to be horsemen then to be footmen; some are fitter for Land-service then for the Sea: and the very sorts of Armes, and the way of arming men, are of great concernment, to observe good orders, and so to do great services. The *Fourth way* doth teach the five Functions or Duties of War; namely, Navigation, how to encamp, and fight in the field, how to defend himself, and how to besiege, assault, and take strong places. These four wayes are of such a concernment to the greatness of an Empire, that though it was otherwise ill-regulated in some things, the only military Discipline being well performed, and upon good grounds, would be sufficient to make it subsist a long time; as by experience it hath been seen in every State, but above all, in that Potent *Roman Commonwealth*: which more then any other that ever was, had almost every hour the causes of her ruine at hand; but the exactness and goodness of her Discipline,

cipline, was a present remedy to the distempers of that State, and hindered the sad effects of them.

And to come to the first head, which is the true and right ground of all States; the Republick hath settled her Militia, called *Le Cernide*, upon such manner of Souldiers, as no great success is to be expected; not to mention long or old things, the examples of their last Wars in *Friuli*, shew it: where the Republick having gathered these men to offend some places, and to defend others, and they not being used to hardships and inconveniencies of War, before they could be put upon any Service of concernment, diseases got in amongst them, so that only for want of rest many fell into great distempers; insomuch, that according to the common opinion, either by the sword or of natural death, there died about thirty thousand. However, when they are employed in the defence of places, if they enjoy necessary conveniencies, and be not reduced to wants and hardships, they are fit enough to perform their part, better then in the field: Of

this sort of Souldiers the Republick hath forty thousand foot listed, and could raise many more upon occasion; but as I said, no great hopes are to be conceived of them, they wanting experience in that profession: as a thing which they do not apply themselves to, except upon emergencies; and what they act is out of impetuosity, more then out of any real courage, or well grounded valour, and they (excepting some few) are fitter for the plough then the sword, especially the *Padoans*, out of which Country the Republick hath many such ones; and this is to be attributed to their natural genius and temper, rather then to any want of exercise and care taken of them, for they are often exercised and trained up to shoot Guns and Musquets, though their Officers, who take this care upon themselves, being chosen more by favour, then according to merit, know for their part as little of it as others, and they still remain in the same pass: Hence that Common - wealth doth find, how vain 'tis to rely upon an unexperienced multitude of people; So that

that to say the truth, that Republick is more inclined to follow Sea affairs, then those of any other sort : and from her beginning, and the situation of the Chief City , it doth appear that she hath no exact experience of Land business : because in their deliberations and counsels about Land-affairs, they are forced to make use of strangers for Officers ; and that which is of great importance, they must lay the ground of all their hopes upon the strength and valour of forreign Souldiers, who often prove to be dangerous , and many times unprofitable. On whom a Prince can never settle his Empire upon sure grounds, they being disunited by reason of the ambitious temper of the Nations, which is often attended with unfaithfulness. And suppose they are neither of these, yet they will be lusty and ready to commit insolencies, because neither the desire to defend a just cause, nor any other motive of that nature makes them to be Souldiers ; all that they can say for it, is a short pay, which not being sufficient to put them very far upon venturing

of their life, often they become stubborn and disobedient to their Officers. and upon this account the Republick will ever prefer to live in peace, rather then offend others, for too much trusting to their own Forces: which though they be great, yet they are such in name and opinion, if not more, at least as much, as in reality.

I say further, that with the help of some strangers, and by the means of those few light horsemen which they can raise out of their own Dominions, they could for a while be masters of the field; but at last they could not keep it. And of this kind of men they could set on foot somewhat above 6000 light horsemen and musquetiers of their own Subjects, with some strangers in part of *Albania* and *Sficiotti*, as they call them, drawn from the Sea Coasts and Inland Towns; the former are good enough to rob, to scout and interrupt the Convoyes of provisions for Armies, and even to fall unawares upon the Enemy; but having weak horses, and themselves being not well armed, they cannot hold out very long

long against the Enemy; the latter likewise are not much worth, only inasmuch as they have better horses than the former, and because also they are better men. Nevertheless the Republick keeps on foot but few Troops of those of *Albania* in time of peace to suppress the *Banditi*, who gathering sometimes in a body, do much disturb the Countrey with their robberies and other oppressions: As for the rest in time of peace, the Republick hath no other body of Souldiers but five troops of Horse, which are in all 460, and are obliged to keep two horses a man, whose pay is ten Crowns a moneth, which persons are all alike in this, that none are willing to serve, except their priviledges and freedoms be made good to them; notwithstanding, their horses are weak and dull, and cannot very long endure hardships, being of very little or no account at all.

These are all the Land Forces of the Republick, which at present are not increased, except in *Dalmatia*, and the Recruits sent from time to time to *Candia*,

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These are all the Land Forces of the Republick, which at present are not increased, except in *Dalmatia*, and the Recruits sent from time to time to *Candia*,

dia; for the great charges that the present War engages them to, are by Sea; hence it appears, that these Land Forces are not constant, nor ordinary, but collective, gathered here and there; of not much valour, nor experience, wherewith all humane actions ought to consist, which tend to the safety of Princes, although it be the hardest and most difficult to be attained unto. Nevertheless to what we said may be added, that there are 6000 Cannoniers or Gunners, and others belonging to Artillery, who indeed are serviceable men.

Now I will come to the Sea-forces of this Republick, which I consider, either as to materials ready fitted and disposed, or in all manner of provisions, & other things necessary for war, as are Souldiers, Ammunition, Armes, and the like. As to the first, the Republick is plentifully provided with every thing necessary to such occasions, as Timber, and all manner of Wood, Iron, Hemp, Pitch, &c. Of every one of these there is great store and quantity in the *Arsenal*, placed in a good order:

Now

Now this *Arsenal* is the most ancient, & at present the best known in the world, without exception or hyperbole ; as for the generality and variety of things made in it , so for the number and quantity of them, there being no Army, how strong soever and great, but it may be supplied thence with all manner of necessaries : for in the year 1570, they armed 150 light Gallies, 11 great Gallies, 1 Galeon, and 25 great ships ; and of late years 'twas also observed by experience , when it furnished 120 Sails, besides that vast quantity of what remained in it of offensive and defensive armes, which are all placed and distributed in an admirable order. This *Arsenal* is in a place separated from the City, compassed about with high walls, upon the which are two little Towers, and hath the Sea water round about it ; there is but one Gate to go into it, and a channel whereby their shipping goes in and out. Within it, for these six hundred years and above, they have gathered almost an infinite number of all sorts of warlike instruments: of gallies, oares, masts, sayls, & all
manner

manner of tackling; in the making or preparing of which, are constantly employed rare and excellent workmen, who have nothing else to mind. It is a known story, that when *Henry the third of France*, took *Venice* in his way out of *Poland* into *France*, one day whilst he was at dinner, an handsome and a stately Galley was fitted for him to go upon the Sea to take the air: and though two pieces of it, were not together, before he sat down, as soon as he had dined 'twas ready to go out, which shews how ready are their materials, and how quick are their workmen; and nothing was done then, but what could again as easily be performed upon occasion.

But to come to some particulars of the description of this *Arsenal*; I say there are vaste and spacious rooms full of head pieces, breast and back pieces, pistols, musquets, swords, pikes, halberds, partizans, two-handed swords, bows, arrows, small guns, &c. And under these rooms are others, which in an excellent and orderly disposition are full of great Guns, half Canons of brass

brass and iron, Culverins, and a vast number of Granadoes, Mortar-pieces, and of all manner of Artillery, besides the great quantity of bullets of iron, of which the Republick hath several good mines : All the forenamed things are lookt to, by men appointed to that purpose, who are not only curious to get into the *Arsenal* all manner of new invented instruments of War, but also take an extraordinary care of those they have already, which are placed in so good an order, that it is a great pleasure and satisfaction to behold it. In a word, they have in this place every necessary thing for 150 ships, and to arme above 200000 men, besides that great number of armes, which are in the palace of *St. Mark*, and in the houses of particular Noblemen, whereof they are the pomp and part of their ornaments. But because 'tis not enough for a State to have great store of armes, except there be in it people enough fit to make use of them, both out of their natural disposition, and experience gotten by the exercise of the discipline of War, and

except they have good and experienced Officers to train them to it; So the Republick wanting some of these things, is put to it when it is needful to get good Souldiers, especially when there is some extraordinary occasion of arming by Land or by Sea, but chiefly by Land.

Now I will mention some particulars about their Sea affairs: they have a constant and settled body of a Fleet or Armata of 50 Gallies, which in a fortnights time may be fitted for service with all necessary provisions, seeing the *Scuole*, the several companies and secular fraternities are obliged to furnish 25 with Rowers, to which end they cast lots, thereby to know who is to serve; so that either they must go themselves, or else find persons fit to do service: Also all the watermen, as well those of *Venice*, as others, who go upon the Rivers of the State, are obliged to arm other 25 Gallies, and find Rowers, these, as the former, are chosen by lot: But further, the Provinces of *Istria* and *Dalmatia* are to set out 12 Gallies more; and before the

the War, the Island of *Candia* was to give 10: which made up a body of 72. In this lies the advantage of the Republick, That she hath the best and most experienced Galley Souldiers and Rowers of the *Adriatick* Sea, because they are almost all taken out of the watermen of every Town, who from their childhood are brought up and used to this manner of life. So that in this particular the Republick is admirably well provided; and for this service are constantly kept about 2000 men condemned to the Gallies, either their own Subjects, or of others who are sent to them, or slaves. As for the provisions, they are drawn from the places I named before, of which there is need every year; and this necessity is the more increased, that Corn is at present in the hands of greedy and covetous Noblemen, who take advantage of occasions and conjunctures. Of Rice, and all manner of Pulse, and other necessary provisions for their Fleet and Armies, the Republick hath great abundance, because all grows within her Dominions.

As

As to Souldiers, either Subjects of the Republick, or of some other parts of *Italy*, of *Corfica*, or fugitives from other Dominions, and others who are not *Italians*, as *Germans*, *French*, *Switzers*, &c. At first they are well enough served by this ordinary Army; but if it be brought to suffer much, either by diseases, want of provisions (which last happens very seldome) or loss of ships, then the Republick is put to it again, as they are also when any extraordinary Army is to be raised: their Subjects as I said already, being not very fit for such services, and strangers being so chargeable, not used to the climate of *Candia*, and the *Archipelago*, besides, that in the world there is no power so weak, as that which grounds its hopes, and depends upon the will of others: as the Republick hath had experience when she hath made use of *Dutch* and *French*, who are not able to endure the scorching heat of the Sun in those hot Countries; besides the difficulty there is to get Souldiers of these Nations; and when they have with great expences done it, sometimes are
fallen

fallen out discontents, disturbances and mutinies, to the great prejudice of the publick service, to the inconvenience of their own Subjects, and to the general offence of the Republick.

The *Venetian* ships have usually ten or twelve pieces of Artillery every one, that is, ten pieces of six, with Cannons of fifty, and two of twelve, besides the great musquets of the rowers, of which every Galley hath between 170 and 180, which are well furnished with every other thing; but for the foresaid reasons, the Republick will ever desire to be in peace both by Sea and by Land with all her Neighbours, and will stand only upon the defensive, or else successes will hardly answer her expectation; and there is reason for it, because offensive wars are not to be undertaken but by very potent Princes, stronger then they whom they offend, at least in the conjuncture they begin the war. This *Venice* knows well, therefore she loves peace, and doth what she can to preserve it by Art and otherwise; and if need be, buys it at a dear rate.

As

As 'tis not enough for a State to be strong against attempts from without, but they ought to be provided, against those which may arise within. Three things cause alterations and ruine in States and Principalities; one is outward, (*viz.*) the power and violence of enemies, which the *Venetians* are provided against by the means of the forces I have already spoken of; the other two arise from within, and are either the division of Subjects amongst themselves, or against their Governours, or else the treason of some particular men combining with the Enemies of the State.

These divisions are made and carried on by factions and parties about matters of Religion, State, or private interest, arising from error, ambition, envy, hatred, &c. which Rulers are by all means to put an end to; and above all they are to avoid declaring themselves the head of any party, seeing they are all his Subjects, and therefore 'tis contrary to his interest, thereby to foment and keep up divisions within his State. *Henry the third of France,*
was

was by his Enemies forced to make himself the head of the League, but the second part was to have stript him of his Kingdome, to invest therewith one of the Family of *Lorrain* : But here I must take notice of the advantages of Monarchies over Republicks. When a Republick is subject to divisions, there is hardly any remedy, but by the destruction of one of the parties, whereby the whole is weakned; and if every side be potent, they grow obstinate, which carries them often to extremities, every one thinking his right and his cause better then his Neighbours. And 'tis a certain truth, that Common-wealths, and even those Monarchies which have most the nature of Republicks, especially those which are elective, were ever more subject to troubles and divisions, then those Dominions which depend upon a successive Sovereign : witness the *Athenian*, *Lacedemonian*, and other Greek Republicks, and the *Roman* as much as any : which divisions bring down to such inconveniences as are often the causes of their ruine. If in the
time

time of the second punick war the *Barchins* had been the masters of *Carthage*, in probability *Hannibal* receiving the supplies which he expected from thence, had made himself absolute Master of *Italy*, which was hindered by *Hanno's* faction. Now a Monarch, by all parties being acknowledged to be the Lord and Sovereign, by vertue of his Power and Authority, can make up breaches, unite parties, reconcile differences, and take resolutions, with more speed and secrecie.

However, I do not deny, but that such things (though not so easily) may be effected in Republicks: especially to make divisions cease when they are between Rulers and the people. Who are apt to raise tumults, either for dearth and want of necessaries, as bread, or by reason of great extorsions made by Ministers and Officers, or because they are oppressed by forreign enemies, or governed with unreasonable and unseasonable severity: all which things often drive them to despair. Therefore to keep people content and quiet, they
must

must procure them plenty, justice, peace, and a certain honest liberty, not degenerating into licentiousness; because plenty affords men subsistence and a livelihood, justice secures ones State, peace promotes both, and liberty makes peace sweet and acceptable: plenty frees one from wants, civil justice from cheat and deceit; the criminal secures our persons from violence, peace from the attempts of foreign Enemies, and liberty from the fear and jealousy men are apt to have lest Princes would encroach upon and destroy their priviledges.

Now the Republick of *Venice* hath sufficiently provided for every one of these things. As to the first, which is Plenty, besides the nature and situation of her States, which are fruitful, and have the conveniency of the Sea, and of navigable Rivers, they have encouraged Trade, and Manufactory; So that they have not only that which is necessary for life, but also the delights and rarities of all parts of the habitable world are to be had there; they have also settled the Office, *Dei proveditori*

ditori alle biade, whose care it is to see that Corn be never wanting in the City. As for justice and liberty they are well secured, as it will appear from what I am to say afterwards.

Now as to monies, this being the first aliment, and the right sinew of war; and as a State hath two things to do, to make war, the one is to raise men and put them in a body, and the other to send them where occasion requires; but neither of these can be done without monies, which yet must last, because the manner of carrying on wars doth require it; and seeing there are two wayes of managing it, either when men come to decide it with a battel as soon as can be done, and then all lyes at the stake, 'tis necessary as to pay the arrears of Soldiers, so to encourage them also, and in a doubtful case to bestow some liberality upon them: or if war be protracted, and slowly carried on, with an intent to tire, waste and consume the Enemy; this manner of war, more then the former, doth wholly depend upon the abundance of monies where-
with

with Souldiers are duly paid , and the Army supplied with all manner of necessary provisions. Indeed the riches of this Republick are very great ; not only the Publick, but also the private ; first, by reason of the large extent of her Dominions both by Land and by Sea, wherein are great, plentiful and populous Cities which yield very great Revenues, as hath been shewed before; by which means she may lead Souldiers where occasion doth require, making War to last when 'tis her advantage so to do ; whereunto I add, that the Republick hath means and inventions enough to find out monies, as we expressed before. Moreover, it ever the *Venetian* Nobility were rich, they are now, and in a high degree, whereof there are several causes. First, in all *Italy* there is not a City more Merchant then *Venice* is, there being in it at least fifty very rich Merchants. Then, the conveniency of the Sea brings to them a great Trade from the *Levant*, and (in time of peace) fills the City with rich wares, with a notable advantage of customes to the Repub-

lick Revenue, and to particular men; and because of the long Peace which they had with the *Turks* before the breaking forth of the present war, both publick and private men had time to gather great means: 'Tis no wonder therefore, if in consideration of this, the Republick is at present so solicitous, and so willing to have Peace with the *Turk*, that war being a prejudice to all in it; it not only hinders them from gathering, but also forces them to lay out what they had before.

But to speak of the riches of the Nobility of *Venice*, they are very great, and almost inestimable upon these two accounts: first, of all the beneficial and gainful charges of the Republick are distributed amongst them; and the other is, that having bent all their thoughts upon the gain and profit in the Land, they have a hand in the management of all the Chief Affairs in it, there being none so fit and so able as the Nobles; and they are very subtle to get thereby all the advantage they can, and yet with so much dexterity, that people cannot handsomly

com-

complain of them, it being an *Italian* saying, That Governours within the State of the Church do cheat *with zeal and devotion*; Those under other Princes *with authority and bravery*, but the Noble *Venetians with dexterity*; yet for all this, some are poor, but these are very few in comparison of the rest; and to these also the Republick takes care to give some Offices, that however they may not want: For all this, I know for certain, that some of them use to go up and down into *Alberghi*, or places where strangers lodge, to beg. Indeed forrainers, who are not acquainted with the persons, are surprized to see men come in to them in the Noble *Venetians* habit, which is a long black Gown hanging upon the ground, and the *Berrotta* or Cap (for they wear no hat.) One pretends to ask for a Gentleman lodged in the house, who, saith he, promised to lend me so much; then seeming to be troubled, he proffers a Ring with *Venetian* stones, or the like, to be pawned for much more then it is worth, and if this takes not, then he refers himself to the

Gentleman, to lend him or give him what he pleases: and a stranger, who is dazzled with that name of a *Venetian* Nobleman, doth hardly know how to be rid of him, without giving him something; the onely way being to tell him, take heed what you do, for I belong to such an Ambassadour: after which he departs immediately, because under pain of death, no *Venetian* Nobleman may keep company with any one belonging to a forrain Minister. Another of these Noblemen, but a *Greek* by Nation, comes directly and begs, pretending to have lost all by the present *Turkish* war: These two (the only presidents in that kind) are examples of poverty in that order; but they are also the shame of the Nobility, the rest being provided for, as I already expressed. I could here come to some particulars about the manner of the Nobility, of the proceeding with the Subjects, of their minners, customes and qualities, but of this another time; at present I intend to say few things of their publick Treasure.

As

As to the particular sum of monies which the Republick may have, it cannot be well known, the present *Turkish* war having much exhausted them, and the supplies which they have received from some few Princes, or other great Persons, have been very inconsiderable, comparing them with their occasions. On the other side, 'tis true, that the monies which they have spent, either in the pay of Souldiers or Provisions, and ammunition for the Fleets and Land Forces, hath been like the circular blood, and not gone out of their State, which (except some Souldiers) hath afforded them all necessary provisions for war. 'Tis a common opinion, that before this war (for to speak a certainty of these things, one must consider the Republick in peace, and a settled condition) the publick treasure could amount to fifteen Millions of Gold, and not more, because every year there were extraordinary occasions of laying out much money, sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another, not only for the Service of their own States, but also for the use

of others : so they furnished the Duke of *Savoy* with sixty thousand Crowns a moneth; and they did lend something in the wars of *Bohemia* : but the present war hath forced them to borrow monies upon use, from some of their own Merchants, and of *Genoa*, and they have been put to coyning of brass and coper, which formerly was forbidden amongst them; and at present they allow of the Gold and Silver Coynes, not only of other Princes of *Italy*, but the *French* and *Spanish* are currant in the City. There was also above One Million of false coyn, which was taken in from the Subjects, without giving them any satisfaction for it, which they since have made use of, So that from all this one may judge, that the publick Treasure is not so great as hath been, and is still talk't of, people usually looking upon such things through a multiplying Glass : It is true, that there is still a very rich Treasure in *St. Mark* (and this is properly that which is called the Treasury of *Venice*, and not a Treasure in monies, as many do imagine) which I have

have seen several times ; it consists in work of Gold well wrought, and in Jewels and precious Stones of very great value, and of an extraordinary beauty, which comes behind no other.

The particulars are, first, the Golden Crown, wherewith every new Duke is Crowned, all set with jewels of very great value ; then twelve Corselets of massy Gold of an indifferent bigness, all full as can be of Emerald stones, and Saphires, which were gotten at the taking of *Constantinople* ; and there are twelve golden Crowns of an extraordinary beauty, and full of precious stones, taken in the same City : further, two very fair Crowns of gold, all set with Jewels, the one for the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, the other for that of *Candia* ; there are also some Carbuncles of an extraordinary bigness, Saphirs, Turkoises stones, Granets, and other precious stones of a rare beauty and value, besides some Censor pans, a papal golden Cup, with the Chalice, and other rare works admirable to look upon ; there are some household

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stuff,

stuff, and works of antiquity, of all manner of ancient Armes, as breast-plates, which anciently the Princes used to carry to war when they went in person; Halbards after the *Turkish* way, Rapiers, two hundred Swords, Pikes, great cross-Bows, with some other presents given to the Republick by the *Persian*, and other Princes of the *East*, with some other Tokens received from *Genoa*, *Germany*, from the *Turks*, and other Nations; of all which things three rooms of a good bigness are stored: But the rarest of all these things is the workmanship of a wooden horse, between the legs of an armed man, an excellent invention, and wonderfully fair; and this is all which is to be found there most magnifick, most fair, and most rare; for I do not so much as take notice of their several pretended Relicks, which contribute to superstition, more then to devotion.

And here upon the subject of Riches, I must take notice of a question started by States-men, whether Riches or Poverty, do best qualifie Subjects?
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that is, whether it be better for a Prince that his Subjects be rich, or that they be poor? To which I answer, That extremities are very dangerous; and first, for those subjects who are extraordinarily rich, they are apt to be proud, ambitious, and given to pleasures and vices; all which things are dangerous in Monarchies and Commonwealths, especially if they be any wayes disaffected and popular; so that if they do any good action, it is to be suspected they do it for their private ends and designs, more then for the publick good: Upon these grounds Princes do suspect them so, that sometimes meerly upon jealousy of State, they are kept low, and undone; for often times Supream Authority is not satisfied with this only, that one will do no harm, but it requires also that he have not the power to do it, the great intention being to disenable him from it; Rulers not being so solicitous of what a man will do, as of what he can do. Thus it falls out with high Cedar trees, to be stricken with thunder-claps, whilst low shrubs are free and

safe. Should a Star shine as bright and as glorious as the Sun, it would be accounted a prodigy ; so in States, especially in Monarchies, there ought to be a greater difference between the Sovereign and the first of Subjects, then between this and the last of the people; for what greater light the former hath he borrows and receives it from his Prince, who is the fountain of Honour, and who can make him as low, as himself or his Ancestors made him high. Now the greatest men in Kingdomes are but Subjects, as the lowest of the people, and between them there is only a difference in degree, or at the most in order ; and it is easier for one to pass from a low degree of subjection to a higher one, then from the highest degree of subjection to pass to Sovereignty ; only some mitigation of this must be made for those who are Heirs apparent, and (if they live) infallible successors of the Crown, yet till then they are but Subjects.

Now I say, this greatness of some particular man is more dangerous in Republicks then in Monarchies, for the
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Glory of *Sylla*, *Marius*, *Crassus*, *Pompeius*, *Cæsar*, and others, proved very fatal to the *Roman Republick*, more then that absolute Authority which *Sejanus* usurped to himself, was to *Tiberius* in his absence, though for a while the Emperours Authority was eclipsed by the glory and the greatness of that favourite. Neither is it very proper that some Families should enjoy more riches and credit then the Republicks wherein they live, as it hath been, and at this day it is in *Genoa*; but this may be attributed to the several revolutions and changes which have befallen that Republick, for other Common-wealths have been, and are more careful then so: Thus at *Venice*, though rewards be given to those who have done well, yet the great glory and reputation of all comes to the State, and doth not stay nor fix in particular men. But the jealousie of the Common-wealth of *Athens*, went beyond all this; for they denied *Miltiades*, a Crown of green leaves (an usual thing amongst the *Romans*) after that glorious and immortal Victory of his at
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Marathon ; One of the Senators stood up and said to him, *When thou Miltiades fighting alone shalt have obtained Victory of our Enemies, then thou shalt alone be honoured* : And this jealousy of theirs introduced the *Ostracisme* into their Republick, whereby any particular man who far exceeded others in riches or credit, was for ten years exiled out of the City ; severity, which though it seems to secure them from troubles and alterations, yet it doth really discourage vertue and merit : for take away from vertue reward of honour or riches, she loses much of her life and strength, *Languescit sine premio virtus*. This extremity is not so easily found in Monarchies, neither do I see how it may consist with justice, because some men are very great in a State, that meerly upon suspicion they should be deprived of what riches and honours their Ancestours merit and vertue, or their own, have been rewarded with, except indeed they would turn the course of them against their Spring, and make use of them for wrong ends, and contrary to those
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for which they were given; yet in all this the State and Sovereign Authority must find their safety.

Now to the second extremity, whether it be better for a State that all the subjects of it should be kept low and poor? I will omit particular customs and constitutions of some Countries, grounded upon their manner of Government, and temper of the people, to come to a general, and I think a rational *Rule*; I say therefore, that to oppress people who are Obedient to Authority, meerly to keep them poor and low, or under pretence of taking from them the means and occasions of troubles and seditions, is a thing unmerciful, unjust, and unsafe.

First, unmerciful. One of the characters which Scripture gives of a righteous man is, that he is merciful to the beast, which God was pleased not only to have some respect to, when he prescribed the observation of the *Sabbath*, but also to take a special care of, when he forbids his people, *Not to muzzle the Oxe which treads the Corn*, because he ought to have some fruit of his

his labours; much more is God mindful of men, created all of one and the same lump, after his own Image and likeness; therefore the Son of God commands us to be merciful, even as our Heavenly Father is merciful, who causes his Sun to shine upon all men, and sends his rain for the benefit of all. Tenderneſs is becoming Princes and Rulers, who muſt be fathers and protectors of the people, knowing alſo they have a Lord and a Maſter in Heaven, who is no excepter of perſons; therefore in thoſe things they exact from ſubjects they ought to conſider their ſtrength and abilities, ſo as not to require brick where there is no ſtraw, and not inflict upon them a greater curſe then that which God pronounced in the beginning, *In the ſweat of thy face ſhalt thou eat thy bread*; Indeed according to this, they muſt work hard to have it, but what a crying ſin is it after they have as it were ſweated out their heart, to deprive them of the end and benefit of their labours, which was to get bread in the ſweat of their face; this is to be neither man nor Chriſtian.

But

But I must shew how unjust this is; for though men are to pay Tributes, Customs, and indeed till the last farthing of their purse, and the last drop of their blood, to contribute to the relief of the necessities of the State; yet extraordinary occasions ceasing, in justice they ought to be eased of their burthens, for the cause ceasing the effect must also cease : And in all sorts of ranks and qualities, there is a right of propriety, which if you take away, all the world shall go up-side down ; there is that *meum* and *tuum*, which ought to be preserved to every one. If Princes do give way to the disturbance of the propriety of the Subject, unawares they may happen to give presidents, and lay a foundation of destroying in time their own right and prerogative. When the *Rubicon* is once past, and men are engaged in a wrong way, there is no end, and things may go much further then they thought at first they could go ; and this shews the danger of such practises. Furthermore, there ought to be a difference between subjects and slaves : the former depends

pend upon Laws, and the latter upon the will and fancies of men, not only as to goods, if any they have, but also as to their persons and lives, yet this is only amongst *Infidels* and *Barbarians*. Now when a man engages himself to be a servant to another, it is upon certain conditions so tollerable as he intends, not to give his Master an absolute and despotick power over his goods and person; this same consideration must be supposed to have been had by those who first of all freely and willingly submitted to Authority, yet still with this vaste difference, that men are servants by their choice, but subjects by birth and nature; so that one may not be a servant, but of unavoidable necessity he is a Subject; and so with stricter bonds tyed to his Sovereign, more then any servant is to his master: however this shews what I said, That there ought to be bounds and limits to the sufferings and burthens of subjects, as all created things have without exception, the will and power of God alone being boundless and unlimited.

Neither

Neither is it safe for States to keep subjects exceeding low and poor, for people are thereby reduced to wants and to despair, which put them upon any extremities; they are apt to raise Tumults and Seditions; for nothing in the world spurs on men so much as want and necessity do. Men who have nothing to lose care not what they do, but will seek to fish in troubled waters, for they are sure to lose nothing but a poor life, which may be they are weary of; and they are in hopes (perhaps not without probability) of getting something. That State is in a dangerous condition whose subjects are in great poverty, not only by reason of the disturbance which thereby may arise within, but also because upon occasion no great help can be expected from them against a foreign Enemy, the Rulers having already lost the hearts of the people, who have no purse to assist them, nor hardly hands to lend, poverty taking away the heart and the spirit of men, whereby they are unresolved, wanting experience and capacity to do any service; so that the

the Prince alone, or very weakly assisted, must curb troubles within, and repel hostilities from without, for the most part these sort of subjects being like fit-sick folk a bed, who think to ease themselves by often turnings and changings of place. Rehoboams words, *My father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with Scorpions*, cost him very dear, seeing he lost thereby Ten Tribes: which God forbid I should speak as to the *right*, but only as to the *matter of fact*, knowing also there was a special hand of God in it; but to my mind, this makes the danger of this practice very palpable.

Therefore the safety and prosperity of a State doth consist in a middle way between two extremities; that is, in a mediocrity of means and riches of subjects; and these questionless are the strength of a Nation, who are not so rich, so credited, nor so strong of themselves, as to oppress others, or attempt any thing against the Government, or so poor as to undertake any thing to get bread, or to seek their fortune in
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the troubles and ruines of the State, seeing they have enough of their own to live upon, according to their quality, which they are afraid to lose, and would not hazard upon any uncertainty, it being a great folly in a man who ventures to lose more then probably he can gain; and certainly the more these means or riches are dispersed, the better and safer it is for the State and the Publick, for so every one hath something, and none hath enough to cause, or reason to wish for disturbances: being a counterpoise one to another, and every one having some ground of satisfaction, and content, though some more, and some less; there is no danger that the lean Kine shall devour the fat, nor shall the fat devour the lean. This truth is confirmed by the wise man, *Give me neither Poverty nor Riches*; the first, to the end I do not steal; and the last, *that I grow not proud.*

Having spoken of the Riches of the Republick, I must in the next place discourse of her Government, and of the Order of her Councils. The Prince, called

led *Doge*, or *Duke*, is the head of the Republick : who though he hath the Name of Prince, yet he hath no Authority without the Council : he may not so much as open a publick Letter without one of the six Councillours, neither doth he keep a Court as other Princes, but only a handsome Family: He is ever in a *Dukal* dress, and in such cloaths as make him appear venerable ; He wears a Cap, which behind riseth up like a horn, or if I may so call it, a crimson kind of Mitre, with a gold border, and a thin Coife under it ; his upper Garment is like a cloak hanging down to the ground ; He hath on his shoulders *Ermin* skins, which hang round about him to his middle, and are closed before with precious stones ; about his Wast he wears a rich embroidered girdle, set with many Jewels of great price ; the Bells of *St. Mark* ring when he goes out of his Palace, and before him are carried some little spread flags, and also are sounded some silver Trumpets of an extraordinary bigness ; then are carried the Cushion, and the golden chair, after follows the Prince

Prince under the *Umbrellon* or *Parasol* instead of a *Canopy*, between two of the Chief Ambassadors who are present ; last of all come a matter of thirty ranks, of two in a rank, of Noblemen, all cloathed in Red ; and he who is at the right hand of the first rank, bears the Sword naked in his hand ; and this is done when he marches in State.

So then the whole Authority of this Government doth depend upon some certain Noble Families ; which almost from the beginning of the Republick were united together, and to them upon several occasions others have been added ; so there hath been some alteration of this Nobility, when by reason of some wars the door into it hath been open to some Families, who though they exceeded others in riches, yet were very short of them in Nobleness of blood, and extraction ; Hence have sprung some Emulations or Envyings of one against another, as 'tis expressed in their Baloting or voting, whereby sometimes are named to Offices, not they who have most merit, but they who have most friends, and
most

most favour; but these things happen every where else. Because I will draw no inference to disparage either their Persons or their Government, it being natural to every one to promote his friends and relations, rather than an enemy or a stranger: All these Families may be reduced to the number of 150, which make up about 3000 Noblemen of all Qualities and Conditions, out of whom are chosen the *Consiglieri* in this manner.

First, there is the *Gran Consiglio*, the Great Council, which is the Assembly of all the *Venetian* Nobility, from 25 years of age upwards: But first, it is necessary for one to prove he is so many years old, to which effect he presents himself to the *Avogadori di Commune*, and the Oath of the Parents, and of the next relations, is taken to confirm he is 25 years Old; then there must be two credible witnesses to affirm that he is such a Noblemans Son, which being done, he may go into the Great Council: there are also some few others of the Nobility, who may be present at this Council, after they are 21 years

21 years Old, which they obtain by lot in this manner. It is the custome on St. *Barbara's* day, in remembrance of a great Victory obtained upon that day, for all those young Nobles who are entred into the 21 year of their age, to give in their names, which are put in a box, out of which some are taken and put into another with the Golden Balls, and he whose name is taken out is made of the Council, and the rest, whose number is sometimes greater and sometimes lesser, must stay till another year. Now this *Gran Consiglio* is the basis and foundation of the Republick; in it are created all the Magistrates, not onely of the City of *Venice*, but also of the whole State: it commonly consists of 1500 Noblemen, who meet usually every Sunday, and almost every Holy day.

Then follows the Council called *Pregadi*, which is one of the Chief members of the Republick, for in it are treated of, and decided, all the great affairs of the State; it consists of 120 Noblemen, of whom ordinarily five may be of one Family; besides some other

other Councils and Magistrates, some whereof have right of *Balloting* (or giving in their Votes by way of Balls) & others have it not, only they may hear what passes there: Therefore they who enter into this Council are first the *Doge*; the six *Consiglieri*, the *Consiglio di dieci*, the *Avogadori*, all the *Procuratori*, the *Quarantia Criminale*, the three *Consiglieri dà basso*, the two *Censori*, the three *Sopra gli atti*, the *Sopragastaldi*, the three *Governours dell' entrate*, the three *Lords Sopra le biade*, the four *Lords over the Salt*, the three *Chamberlains di Commune*, the three *Lords of the Raggioni Vecchie*, the three of *the Raggioni nuove*, the three *Proveditori di Commune*, the three *Lords over the Arsenal*, the three *proveditori sopra le Camere*, the three *Provvisori delli dieci Savi*, and the three *Cattaveri*, or inquisitors of truth. All these names I set down in *Italian*, there being hardly in *English* any to express them, but hereafter I will make out how they are to be understood.

Those who have no vote in *Pregadi* are the *Colledge of the Savii*, the three
Delle

Delle Sanità over the health, the three over *li daci*, gabels or customes, the *Provvisori* over the *Costimo* of *Alexandria* the three over that of *Damascus*, and the twelve over that of *Candia*; all these together make up the Council of *Pregadi*, which meets whensoever it pleases the *Collegio*, and the Bell rings when they are to meet; they are also called to it by publick Officers, appointed to that effect. This *Pregadi* may take no resolution, except there be in it four *Consiglieri*, and at least sixty, of the Noblemen who have Vote, to make a *Quorum*: All matters of great concernment to the Republick, are treated of, in this Council: namely, the resolutions about Peace, War or Truce, Leagues and Confederacies, of the wayes of raising monies, of giving assistance to Princes, of making new Laws, chusing new Generals, and high Officers of the Fleet, and Army, and of the electing the *Savi of the Land*, of the *Sea*, and the *Savi Grandi*.

But because I speak here of several Offices under *Italian* names, for indeed some of them cannot be rendred into

English, I must now explain in few words what some of them are, and hereafter I shall have occasion to mention others; There are the *Procuratori di S. Marco*, which is one of the greatest and the most honourable dignities of the Republick, for they are such for life, they take care of the Church and Treasure of *St. Mark*; they see that the Wills of Testators be put in execution by their Heirs, being themselves Commissioners of Legacies, they are allowed to wear the Dukal Vest, and to have some few servants to attend them; they take place of all Magistrates, except the six *Consiglieri*, and the three *Capi di Quaranta*, and have a particular lodging allowed them by the Publick, or sixty Duckets by the year: They all enter into *Pregadi*, and three of them into the Council *di Dieci*, by which they are chosen. Formerly they were but two, then three, and thence twelve, but now there are twenty five, some having gotten the place by strength of monies. They never go into the *Gran Consiglio*, but when a Duke is to be chosen,

chosen, and usually they are not allowed any other place but that of *Savi Grandi*, though sometimes upon extraordinary occasions they be admitted into others.

The *Consiglieri* are six in number, and to understand this one must know that the City of *Venice* is divided into two parts; The one on this side *Rialto*, and the other on that side: Every side hath three *Sessori* quarters or parts, for every one of which a *Consigliero* is chosen by the *Gran Consiglio*, three at one time, and that is once of one side of *Rialto*, and the next time on the other: which dignity is but for one year.

The word *Pregadi* comes from *Pre-gati*, prayed to, or wished and intreated: for when *Venice* was divided into petty Islands, one of every place was prayed to go and give his advice about publick affairs: This Council doth chuse Ambassadors to be sent to Princes, with whom ever goes a Secretary taken from amongst the people, without whose knowledge the Ambassador must do nothing of publick

concernment, and before this same *Pregadi*, Ambassadors after their return home make Relations of the Courts whence they come. To enter into it one must be at least thirty years old: Of the 120 that compose it, sixty are named by the *Pregadi*, and other sixty by the great Council: Every one of those who have Vote in it name one, he who hath most votes remains in it: However, as this Council doth confirm or reject Laws made by other Magistrates, so in point of the Election of a *Generalissimo*, which is the greatest of all Military charges, the great Council must approve or disapprove of him whom the *Pregadi* hath chosen: There enters also into this a sort of men who lend monies to the Republick untill they be paid again; in which privilege their Children succeed, not to Vote, but onely to hear what passes therein; And this hath been to encourage men to lend monies in the present War against the *Turk*. The extraordinary meeting of this Council depends upon the *Collegio*, but usually 'tis thrice a week, and alwayes in the
after-

afternoon, and so they pass the whole night if businesses do require it. In Venice they have a Law made by the *Censors* and approved by *Pregadi* and *Gran Consiglio*, that when a Nobleman hath obtained a charge from either of these two Councils, no body must go to their lodgings to congratulate with them, nor publickly in the streets.

The *Collegio* or Colledge, which is the third member of the Republick, is in great esteem, and of high importance : It doth consist of sixteen persons, of six *Savi Grandi*, five *Savi di Terra*, and five *di Mare* : These last take care of all Sea affairs concerning Peace or War : the others do mind Land affairs of Peace or War, especially they are obliged to keep an account of the listed Land Forces of the Republick ; but the *Savi Grandi* take care of all businesses both by Sea and Land, who indeed do almost govern the whole Republick ; all businesses of Peace and War do pass through their hands ; they write to Princes, and receive their Answers : therefore none

is chosen *Savio Grande*, except he be a man of riper years, and of great repute and experience : So the *Savi* of the Land are ever men of credit, which is not so much required in those of the Sea, or *degli Ordini*, as they are usually called, who are chosen for exercise, and to learn more then to rule. When the *Savi* or wise men of the Land will treat of a business which they are not willing to impart to those of the Sea, they desire them to go out as the others do to them upon the like occasion ; but the *Savi Grandi* must be present to every thing.

Every one of these *Savi* is chosen by the *Pregati*, and amongst themselves, as they are of three sorts, so every week they chuse one of their number to be their head, who is to move, and to make proposals of every thing they think fit to be done, which thence are carried to *Pregadi* to be put to the Vote, whom this *Collegio* fits and prepares things for : and to the same they make their reports of things proposed by forrain Ministers in the audience they have given them, or in the visits they

they received from them. This *Collegio* uses to meet every day betimes in the morning, into it also do enter the Duke and *Signoria*.

This *Signoria* we must now speak of, otherwise called *Consiglio di Dieci*, the Council of Ten, because it consists of ten persons, (*viz.*) the six *Consiglieri*, the three *Capi di quaranta*, and the Prince: Of the three *Capi di 40*, or heads of the 40, one is chosen every week to preside and be the chair-man, who ever sits over against the Duke: This Council is of great importance, for it doth enter into all others; yet its authority may be called annexed rather than principal, it being equall to that of *Pregadi*: It may indeed treat of matters of State as they think fit, and not depend upon a higher power; but they make no use of this Authority, except in cases of the highest concernment, and when it cannot be done otherwise: as the sudden making of a War, or concluding of a Peace, to send with speed a *Providitore* to the Army, and to treat secretly of a business

which requires speed ; which things, if they were to be debated and resolved upon, first by the Colledge, then in *Pregadi*, that diligence, and may be that sacrifice which are necessary, could not be obtained.

There is the *Consiglio* only and simply of ten, and the *Consiglio con l' aggiunto*, double, and with the additional, in the former are only the ten persons fore named, and besides them come into the last, the *Savi grandi*, and those *di terra*, the three *Avogadori*, nine of the *Procuratori*, and fifteen others who are appointed for that purpose ; the former sits almost once every day, but the latter once in eight dayes, which time hath been prefixed within these two last centuries of years to settle the minds of people who were mightily stirred and affraid when this Council used to meet, it being known that it is only upon businesses of the highest importance, as to punish Rebels and Traytours to the Republick, false Coyners, and excesses of another nature, as profanation of their Churches, as it happened within these very few years upon this occasion.

One

One day a young Gentleman of the Family *Nani*, lately come from abroad, having met with (whether it was by accident, or with a premeditated design 'tis not known) the wife of the *Signiore Giovanni Grimani* within a Church in a remote part of the City, something passed between them, it may be nothing but words; but however the thing was mis-represented to the *Prior* or *Superiour* of the *Cloyster* by one of the *Priors*, who reported he had seen something unbecoming the place; this hare-brain'd *Prior*, without any consideration of the consequences, in a passionate fit went and complained to the Council of Ten, that some obscene act had been committed in their Church by such persons; whereupon immediately the Council sent the Gentleman a Warrant to appear before it within twenty four hours, and give an account of such things; but he having consulted with his friends, thought fit to let this fury be over, and therefore absented himself; but the Council who first of all is hot upon businesses, (a thing indeed

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unbecoming the gravity they do profess) proceeded against him in his absence with a great severity, and declared him convinced of the fact : By this Thunder-bolt two birds (as we say) were kil'd at once; for the Lady was thereby condemned (though no wayes mentioned) of Adultery ; And as it is usual in such things, that they who are the most concerned, are warned last of all, the Ladies Husband that walking by the Palace of St. *Mark*, not knowing any thing of what passed, some of his acquaintance turned away from him, others hang'd down their heads at the sight of him ; but at last some of his friends not daring to speak themselves, did write a note to him about what was past ; the grief which he received upon so surprizing and unwelcome news is not to be conceived : but home he went, and in a Council between him and his two Brothers, the *Abbot*, and *Petro Grimani*, it was resolved to send several, after young *Nani* to make him away, if they could find him: for though he were innocent, yet his flight had laid a note of infamy upon
upon

upon the Lady, and consequently upon the Family; On the other side the Lady must be made away with poyson; the first failed, but the second did not, although the Husband was much against it, yet the *Abbot*, as they say, undertook to cure her of all diseases, and with a Pill to send her into another world, which was effected in a fortnights time. In the mean while *Nani* and his friends were not asleep, for the Ladies Husband was quickly sent by poyson, as it is thought, packing after his wife; and a while after when the brunt was over, *Nani* appeared before the *Consiglio*: who having heard of his justification absolved him, too late indeed as we use to say, *After death comes the Physician*.

This *Consiglio* manages also certain sums of monies as they are assigned to it, hath an absolute power over the Artillery, and all Officers belonging to it: It hath also in the *Arsenal* certain Gallies at his command, which are marked with these two letters, C. X. signifies the *Capi*, or *Consiglio*, and the second letter X. maketh

Ten, or *di dieci*. When Princes have a mind to treat secretly with the Republick, they direct their Letters thus; *To the Serenissime Prince, N. N. (as now Contareni) Duke of Venice with his Council of Ten*; which method is observed in the answers given to these Letters. When a guilty man is brought before this *Consiglio*, he is allowed no Council, nor any one to plead for him, but one of the *Consiglio* must do it, for him, or else it will not be done at all: There is no appeal from their Sentence, which may be reversed by none but by themselves, or their successors, for they are changed every year, the Duke excepted; this severity and great authority makes it formidable to the City.

Upon the subject of this *Consiglio di dieci*, it is to be observed, that the three *Capi di 40* are otherwise called *Consiglieri dà basso*, and that the six *Consiglieri Grandi* are in charge but eight months, that is, in their assisting with the Duke, and the four months following, by three and three, they are *Consiglieri dà basso*, that is in the *Quarantia*,

rantia : so that thus they end the year of their *Consiglieraio* or Council-ship. And the three *Capi* are not taken out of the old *Quarantia*, nor out of the new, but out of the Criminal, which all are called *Quarantie*, because in every one of them are forty Noblemen. All these things are necessary for forrain Ministers to that Republick, to be known by them, that they may accordingly make their applications ; and this at all times hath been a great help to the dispatch of very difficult and important affairs. But I must come to another head.

The Administration of Justice is wholly committed to the Noble *Venetians*, who are sent into all Cities, Towns and Burroughs to govern them under the title of *Podestà* : these have a Supream Authority both in Civils and Criminals : their Courts consisting of one Vicar, of one judge *all' maleficio* against Crimes and Delinquents ; another Judge *alle vettoa aglie*, about Victuals and Provisions ; and another *all' Aquij.*, who are Doctors at Law of the State. To the Rectors of Cities.

ties are subject all other Governours of Towns, Castles and Villages, who have Authority in the Civil; but over the criminal it is extended only to the rope they call *Strapado*, *Banishment*, *Prison*, to the *Galley*, and to some *pecuniary fine*, but not to death, which is belonging to the Governours of Cities. So that the chief charges of the Government of that Republick are within all her Dominions bestowed upon the Nobility (excepting *Brescia*, which hath it otherwise by a special priviledge) and the Subjects may rise no higher then to be made Governours of some Lands, or some strong places, because the Republicks custome is to employ strangers, rather then their own Subjects; and in the choice made of those Nobles there is a great deal of corruption; for capacity, age, experience, integrity of life, merits and vertue are not so much look't upon, as the riches, interest and dependancies of the Family, and whether the person be able to render some service to those who favoured him in his Election; And this is an universal practice all the world over;

over, to carry out things by way of favour, parties, bribes, and interest.

As for the Lawes, every City is Governed according to her own Statutes and Customes, so that except by Publick Readers in the Schools, there is no mention made of the *Civil Roman* or *Imperial* Lawes; and what is read in these Schools (at *Padoa* especially) is more for shew and ostentation, and to bear up the credit of the place, then for any use and observation of them: For the Republick within this century of years, hath taken away not onely the Authority, but also the very name of *Imperial*, or any other name relating to *Monarchy*, out of her State, and hath deprived the people of their priviledges; of creating Notaries, of Knighting, Legitimating, Naturalizing, and the like. It is also forbidden to Notaries to use the name as *Imperial* or *Royal*: So that all things are done by the Name and Authority of *Venice*, it being their pleasure, that upon all occasions of High Justice, Degrees and Honours, the Lawes of the Cities, and places, and sometimes of

Venice her self, be observed in all places.

As to the manner of their judiciary proceedings, things are judged and decided according to a long custome and experience of many years, more then out of any learning gotten by studies; seeing the Nobility of *Venice*, not only doth not follow the study of the Law, but also they think it were a shame for them to do it; so that instead of it they learn a little of Phylosophy, and something of Rhetorick, whereby they are enabled to make discourses upon occasion; and this I say as to the generality, there being amongst them persons of a deep and Universal learning: However they have certain forms of cases decided before, which are registred and kept upon record; and from this, as from the advices they receive from some Lawyers they carry along with them, they are enabled to give sentences, and pass judgments, which (as in other places) are sometimes unjust, and very prejudicial to the parties: The thing they mind most of all, is, to instruct themselves of the
Lawes

Lawes and Customes of their Republick, wherein they succeed well : But those who are employed to be Ambassadors in forrain Courts, and those who are Lawyers and plead causes, study both Law and Learning, though the Art of relating Histories well, and the *belle lettere*, or curious humane learning, be that which they affect most of all : As to the rest, practise more then theorie, is their guide ; but as this experience is of two sorts, the one from the long standing of the world, which doth afford general rules, and the other is that which men acquire in particular through the course of their life, which if it be without great parts and learning, is so confuse and cloudy, that hardly it ever comes to that degree of excellency which is found in some actions, and the judiciousness of some men : Hence it is, that this bare experience, and without method, proves very often prejudicial to particular men, and dangerous to the Republick, because it learns to undo more then to do, and never knows order, but by the sight of dis-

disorders : So it happens sometimes to this Republick, for sending often young unlearned, and unexperienced men to be Governours of Cities and places, who thereby commit many errors and disorders, whereof the worst falls upon the Subjects, who are thereby involved in many troubles and charges : However the Republick is very severe in punishing those faults which these do commit of a set purpose, especially if they suffer themselves to be bribed to do some injustice. Upon this account, a Nobleman who had been possessed in *Crema*, was beheaded some years ago, because he had received, as it was proved, fifty pieces in Gold, with promise to favour the giver : And as the very report of a bad administration of Justice and Government is sufficient, not onely to have the Nobles hereafter excluded from further preferments, but also to cause them to be punished for the present, and to make them forfeit their reputation, which also reflects somewhat upon their families : So when they come to the discharge of their

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employments they are very careful of doing justice, and of promoting the publick good : and what abuses they commit, are acted with great dexterity : So that for all the particular failings I have mentioned, which are altogether unavoidable in humane things ; that Republick for the right and just administration of her Government must receive her due praises : and although in point of life and death, amongst them, one friend be very earnest to sollicite for another ; yet as to civil matters, to speak in a mans behalf it would do him more harme then good.

It is true, as to their seats of Justice, that there is nothing so tedious and so chargeable as the suits that are before them, neither is there any place where are so many Courts of Justice as in *Venice*, and in the Cities of her Jurisdiction ; for the poor people who are at Law being forced to follow appeals to *Venice* are put to tedious and extraordinary charges, and see no end of their causes, especially if they are to deal with some of the Nobles, or other rich persons,

persons, for in all places where Appeals are admitted the richest will tire out the poor : So that this is one of the greatest faults of that Republick, but it is committed upon a politick account, as we said elsewhere, to keep people in exercises, and the Courts of Justice in credit. Now in *Venice* are all the Courts and Tribunals following.

First, the Court of the *Procuratore*, which judgeth of things relating to the *Proctors* : Before this Court are brought matters of Legacies, differences arising between men of different profession concerning the same, and Controversies between Husbands and Wives.

The Court *della Petitione*, of Requests, hears Causes of above an hundred *Venetian* lire or pounds, (that is, four pound in *English*, or thereabouts) concerning those whom guilt made fly away ; orders the pawning and surveying of goods in the Custom house; obliges men to stand to their bargains and agreements made by word of mouth, or in writing ; doth Tax and
Re-

Regulate charges upon the desire of the Commissioners, or rather Executors, settles and confines expence of those who are under age, decides differences about Wills, and Confirms, Arbitrary Sentences from fifty Duckets downwards.

The Office *dell' Fuarastiero* of forrainers, judgeth Cases between *Venetians* and strangers, and about house-hold stuffs, Boates hire, and of accidents depending thereupon, as when wares are cast into the Sea out of Ships; it doth not relieve Causes about less than ten Duckets, but it proceeds summarily.

The Tribunal *dell' Mobile*, of moveables, judgeth of things of fifty Duckets and less, 'tis of its jurisdiction to decide controversies about moveables disposed of by Wills and Testaments, and of other things which a dead man hath done in his life time, if it be his own hand-writing signed by two witnesses.

The Tribunale *dell' proprio* judgeth of four things of concernment; the first is the matter of portions after a divorce,

voice, and of joyntures; the second about differences arising between Brethren, when they divide any State: the third is concerning successions *ab intestato*, when a man hath made no Will: The fourth is matter of bounds and limits of buildings, that one doth not encroach upon anothers ground, and the like. Further, this Court judges of all Causes between nigh and strict relations.

The Court *dell' Effaminatore*, examines witnesses *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, takes cognizance whether sales were well or ill made, and intervenes to sales made by the Commissary, doth sign the instruments of Donation, and keeps a register of all conditional Legacies.

There are also *li Cattaveri*, who take care to recover those goods which fall to the State from them who dye without making any Will, and leave no Successours; they revoke and take away penalties laid by other Judges, if they think it fit; they sell *all' Incanto* by the publick Cryers invitation, in the name of the State, those Lands which belong

belong to it, to those who offer the most at port-sale : They are judges of things found at Sea, and of treasures discovered under ground : They hear differences between those who go in pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, and the Masters of ships who carry them ; wherefore in this Office is written the name of every Pilgrim bound for that place ; they also decide matters of prices.

The *Piovego* doth judge about contracts of Usury ; Of Causes about high wayes, and takes care that no particular man doth build or otherwise trespass upon the Channels, or upon the Streets.

The Office of the *Sindici* is to oversee unreasonable and excessive charges, made in the acts of Justice, they take the place of ordinary Judges, when they are chosen by the parties.

The *Sopragastaldi* are ordinary Judges of the Execution of Sentences, they sell goods by an intermitted Sentence, and hear differences about Intermiſſions, Executions and Contradictions.

The

The *Superiori* are to censure and mend the acts of the *Supragastaldi* in those errors which may happen to arise from their Sentences.

The *Auditori Vecchi* are to hear the Appeals of the City, Causes of the Courts of St. Mark, and of Rialto; they either do refer Causes, or else bring them into the *Quarantia civil Vecchia* : They judge whether the testimony of Witnesses ought to be received or not; and generally the causes of *Compromessi* or references to Arbitrators are brought into this Office.

The *Auditori Nuovi* hear of Causes from abroad by way of Appeal, they interpose arbitrary sentences where judges have judged amiss, they order suspension of tryals for two months; In a word, this Office decides all broils made by Rectors of places, receiving all Appeals, except from two like sentences. After these Rectors are gone from their Government, the *Auditori* do receive Appeals one month after, within the State called *Trevigian*, and of other Cities and Castles two months after: But about Sea-affairs they receive it at all

all times, receiving priviledged persons and things, as Orphans, Widows, the poorest sort of people, to whom no time is limited to Appeal, and Churches, Universities, and pious places. Their letters of Appeal do usually suspend definitive Execution, except within the *Trevician* State, the *Sebenico*, and places of the *Levant*: Within the *Friuli*, Appeals are decided within four months, otherwise they are executed by Sureties.

The *Auditori Nuovissimi* judge of Causes to the value of fifty Duckets and less; for those of more, they come before the *Auditori Nuovi*.

The Lords *di notte in Civile*, or Civil Causes, take cognizance of Leases, of Houses, matters of cheat; see that bonds made about charges at Law be executed; and are likewise Executors of Sentences passed without the City.

The Lords *di notte in Criminale*, in Criminal Causes, are appointed to prevent and stop fires within the City; to keep goods orders at night, and hinder all manner of violences; even by draw-

ing of blood, and wounding, if it cannot be done otherwise : These being joyned with the *Quarantia*, do order the punishment inflicted upon thieves, and against Husbands, who have more then one Wife ; and against Wives who have many Husbands ; they chastise those who have defloured Maids, killed Thieves, or bought stolen goods : They have authority over the Jewes who kept communication with Christians ; and also they punish Physitians, Apothecaries, and Chyrurgeons, who do not declare who are those who lay under their hands to be cured of wounds.

The *Quarantia vecchin Civile* doth judge of Causes of the *Auditori vecchi*, which themselves have brought into this Court : where also is debated about pardons, graces, and amnesties granted to Malefactors ; they judge of Baloting between equal numbers, or when there is no casting Vote or Ball, and they see that in baloting the oath taken be observed ; They also receive Appeals from Judges within the City, and woe be to them who have any thing

to do here upon that account, for nothing in the world is so tedious as are their proceedings.

The *Quarantia Nuova* hears Causes brought in by the *Auditori Nuovi*, once a month gives in a Cause to those about the Kingdome of *Candia*, with some other dispatches and provisions; and also receives some Appeals from Judges in the Country. One must be past 30 years old to be admitted into these *Quarantia's*.

The *Collegio* of the 25, passes definitive sentences upon Causes of 300 Duc-kets and less; For the space of two months hears the Causes of the City, and for two other months, those of the Country.

The *Quarantia Criminale* doth decide Criminal Causes, as well Originatively, as brought before them by way of Appeal: The *Avogadori* do bring them in, as into their right and proper Council, where they are debated *Pro* and *Con*, the States Council speaking against the guilty, whom answers are returned to by the Advocate of the prisoner, or by the, *Straordinarii*.

Likewise the *Sindici*, or the Overseers of Governments at Sea, do speak against the guilty, as do the *Avogadori*; They also supervise the acts of public Notaries.

The Lords *All' Acque*, about waters, are the Overseers of Lakes, Ponds, and other fresh waters; They take care that the Channels be kept clean.

The Lords, or *Signiore all' Biade*, take care that the City be plentifully supplied with all manner of provisions; So for the Sea places, and the like.

Those *All' Sanità*, for health, look to every thing that might bring an infection into the City, as Diseases, or any filthy and corrupt thing that is brought to be sold. Physicians who are willing to practice must take a License in this Office; as Mountebanks, and others, who appear so upon Stages must also do so: Herein are entred the names of *Cortagiane*, or prostitute women, at present, as it is guessed, to the number of twenty five thousand, or thereabouts; besides the number of
those

those who are private, and of married women, which must needs be vast in so populous a City. The causes of which I think to be in part the nature of the Climate, of the Dyet, the temper of the people, and in part that severity and rigidness of parents and husbands to their daughters and wives, who are deprived of an honest liberty; so that that upon occasion they pass from one extream to another: and they think they may allow themselves a licentiousness, because they are deprived of a lawful liberty. *Nititur in vetitum*, is a true and a common saying: *People long after, and are greedy of that which is forbidden*, being perswaded that stolen waters of pleasures are sweet, they watch opportunities to come by it. A horse who hath liberty to go from the stable to the water, and thence to run up and down the grounds, is not so wild, nor so hard to be come by, as one which is constantly tyed in a stable, and under bridle and curb, if once he slips out of the Grooms hand. So it is of men and women who are kept under too severe a guard: if once they

break loose, they will not easily come in again. And comparing both their conditions, the bitterness of the former adds much to the sweetness of the latter, which the more they like, the longer they are willing to enjoy: doubting whether ever hereafter they shall have any such opportunities, and therefore the more loath they are to return home, to be again under a restraint.

Another cause of this miscarriage of *Venetian* women (I cal all those who live in *Venice*, for otherwise there are many in it from other parts of *Italy*, and several of *Candia*, and other *Greek* women) is the inticements of the place, especially the suggestions and company of some subtle cunning persons both of men & women, who have by a constant practise attained to such an Art of insinuating themselves, that as soon as they have access to a woman, with their pestilentious breath they will blast any thing of honesty or chastity that was in them. Such a one hath been that great *Ruffiano*, who dyed not long since, named *Paola Gemma*, who in
his

his life time had seduced almost as many women as he had hairs on his head; whose words were so powerfully destructive, that it is thought in Venice, the man never spoke twice to a woman, but she yielded to his temptation; he used so much to press things upon them, upon the grounds of interest, pleasure, and other plausible and specious pretences and reasons, and that in so eloquent and pathetick a way, acting sometimes the part of a Confessour, of a Preacher, and of an Oratour, in his Threatnings, Admonitions, Perswasions, Commendations & inticements, that 'tis to be wondered at the Senates (who knew well how dangerous a man this was) suffering of him, were it not that by report some of them made use of him. Something else of this nature I shall say anon, but before, I must continue my enumeration of the Courts of Justice.

The *Signori alla dogana di mare*, of the Custom-house about the Sea, do take care that none of the Gallies of the Republick, or any other particular ship do bring in any wares, or unload them

till first of all the Custom-house be satisfied.

The Lords *alla Pace*, are Judges over all those who fight, wound, or who revile one another with injurious expressions.

Those *Della Giustizia vecchia*, do punish them who falsifie weights, scales, measures, and the like; they set a rate on fruits: In this Office are registred all those who take a Salary to serve in shops, and all manner of Trades are under the jurisdiction of this Court, by which the signs of shops must be approved of.

The *Consoli di Mercanti*, the Consuls of Merchants, have a jurisdiction over matters of Merchandise, and the cognizance of faults committed by Merchants, and matters of pawns, they take Oath from those who owe monies, or bail, to avoid being put into prison, cause those who are fled to be proclaimed to appear, if not, they sell their goods, and pay the Creditours.

The Lords *delle Pompe* look that sumptuary Lawes be put in execution
con-

concerning cloathes and diet, and also they oversee the *Cortisans*.

Those *Alla Favina* are over the Ware-houses and *Rialto*, or matters of Trade and Exchange; they hear all difficulties arising about the same, and keep by them the keyes of the place.

The *Governitori dell' Entrate*, take care of Taxes and Tithes, and punish the faults of Officers belonging to the Custom-house.

The *Signori suprà datii*, over customs, farmes and gabels, find out all those who are endebted for the same, and see the Laws about it put in execution.

Those *Suprà la Giustitia Nuova*, take care over Inns, Taverns, and over those who let out Lodgings, and keep Pensions or Ordinaries; they get the custome due for Wines sold by Retaile; and they oversee Magazines.

The *Sette Savi* receive Appeals from the *Giustitia Nuova*, whereof they regulate the Offices, and make provisions for the Magazines.

The *Signori all' Sale*, about Salt, let out the Farmes and Customes of the Salt of *Venice*, as of all the Dominions of it, and are constituted Judges over all busineses concerning Salt.

Those *Supra i Conti*, over the Accounts, have right and power to force those who owe monies to the Republick for what thing soever, to pay it; So they have authority over ships and gallies.

The *Providitori di Commune*, take care that ships be built great, according to their proportion, and that there be no alteration, when once they are built; they take care of the Streets, and cause the City Bridges to be repaired; they are also Overseers of the *Traghetti*, or passages over those Channels which run through every street.

The Lords *Supra le Camere*, that is, of the Office of the Chamberlains of every City, do receive the publick monies which come from the Chamberlains Office of every such City.

Those *delli dieci Officii* do gather or cause Collection to be made of the monies

monies raised by the Custom-houses upon Land or Sea Commodities, they do the like in point of hire of the great Gallies.

Those *all' Arende* do exact from debtors to the State those monies which remain due by them upon the account of Taxes and Tythes.

The *Dieci Savi*, do examine whether these Tythes be laid even and equal, and upon just grounds, and whether there be any fraud or deceit in it.

The Lords *Alle Raggioni Nuove*, do let out farmes and customes, and they make twenty four chief partners, who dividing amongst themselves the shares or parts, they make a Body and a Society to make good to the Republick the monies promised for such a Farme and Customes; And this Office constrains those who owe monies upon that account, that is, as they are of the twenty four, upon whom also they may lay penalties.

Those *Alle Raggioni Vecchie*, in the name of the Republick do defray the charges of Princes and Ambassadors
whom

whom the Republick receives, of which they keep an account.

Those *suprà il datio del vino*, over the Wine-Customes do judge matters concerning the same, let them come either by Land or by Sea to the City; they are also surveyours of the just payment of the custome, which being very beneficial, and of great concernment, is ever collected by the Republick, because the Noblemen not being willing to pay the Rights, no particular man will or dares undertake it: This Custome yields above 300000 Duckets by the year.

The Office of the *Ternaria Vecchia*, receives the monies of customes upon Oyles.

The *Signori alla Grascia*, take care about salt meates, cheese, and the like; and upon occasion they pass sentence upon differences arising about the same.

Those *Della dogana di terra*, do receive the monies of Customes upon things which come by Land; and by them goods are searched.

Those

Those *delli panni doro*, have a care that those who weave, or any other way, work silver and gold cloathes, and other sorts of manufactories, either to be used at home, or to be sent abroad, be faithful in the doing of it, without cheat or deceit; and they have power to cut or spoyle the same.

The five, or *Cinque alle Mercantia*, do regulate charges about merchandizes and wares, and see that they be not extraordinarily over-valued; so they judge of superfluous charges about wages and salaries.

The Office *della Segreta*, hath in custody all old and new books, and those of the subsidies; which books may not be perused without the consent of the *Consiglio di dieci*.

The three Chambers *delli Monti vecchio* Old, *Nuovissimo* New, and *del Sostidio* of Subsidies, do daily pay dues and fees, according to the order from the *Sestieri*, or Governours of Quarters; and they have a full authority over things belonging to their jurisdiction.

There

There is also the Office, called, *La causa della Affrancatione*, which doth free borrowed monies from the great use agreed upon, and brings it to a lower rate for the good of the State.

The *Providitori della Zecchia*, look that coynes and monies be not adulterated.

The *Avogadori Fiscali* have authority and power over any other Office when they make extortions.

The Chamberlains or *Camerlenghi di Commune* have lying by them all the monies of the Republick by Land, as well as by Sea, which is disposed of as it pleaseth the State: by vertue of Writs and Orders issued by the *Collegio*, and signed by the *Consiglieri*, and the *Savii*.

The *Estraordinarii* do receive monies for the hire of great Gallies and Ships belonging to particular men: When goods are loaden upon any sort of shipping, it is necessary to have a License from this Office, for without it, no leave is granted to go out.

The

The *Tavola dell' Uscita*, is an Office where are received the rights and customs of all the goods carried out of the City.

The three *Signori all' Arsenale*, have the care of all things belonging to it, and hear differences arising about things in it, between those who serve therein.

Lastly, the *Moffetaria* is an Office which takes cognizance of the price of things bought and sold, and for their interposition between the buyer and the seller, by the great, by parcels or by retaile; they have two for the hundred.

Of these Offices, some consist of 40 Senatours, others of 25, 20, others more or less, but none is of less then three; and although all these Courts appear to be much regulated, as indeed they are in themselves, yet, many of them are superfluous, and introduced onely to keep in exercise and from idleness the great number of the Nobility, to bring them up in the management of affairs, and that thereby some may get a subsistence and a livelihood; and as the

the best things are apt to be corrupt, so corruption hath crept into several of these Courts: which very often men are admitted into, by strength of monies. And although this long enumeration of Seats of Justice may seem tedious to some; yet thus much I thought necessary to mention: for they are all different ways, which one time or other he who lives there, shall have occasion to make use of; all which publick Ministers are much concerned to know how to carry on more successfully the interests of their Princes with that Republick.

Now for variety sake, I must pass to things of another nature; and here the manner of Electing a *Doge*, and some things precedaneous to that action, must not be omitted. As soon as one Duke is Dead, the six *Consiglieri*, and the three *Capi di 40*, who compose the Council of Ten, do shut up themselves within the Palace of St. Mark: whence they do not go out till after the Election of a new one; and the Eldest of the *Consiglieri* acts the part of *Vice-Duke*. The Corps is soon buried in
the

the night time by the care of some of his Relations: but withall his Effigy in Wax cloathed with the Ducal Garments is carried into a room, called, *Sala de proveghi*, there to lye in State for the space of three dayes, twenty of the Nobles being appointed to sit about it in their Scarlet Robes: and then without any expression of publick grief, mourning or sorrow, his Funerals are performed in a great Pomp and Solemnity in the Church of St. Mark; the next day after, the *Gran Consiglio* meets, the Great Chancellour puts them in mind, that seeing a new Duke is to be chosen, they owe according to custom to name the [three *Inquisitori*, and the five *Correttori*, after which the, Vice-Duke sayes something in commendation of the deceased, and exhorts every one to mind the good and honour of the Republick in the future Election, and nothing else: Consequently are chosen the *Inquisitori* and *Correttori*; in short, the task of the former is to examine the life and actions of the late Duke, to see whether he hath observed the Lawes; and if they find

find he hath failed in any thing, they are bound to accuse him before the Gran Council, for the which his heirs are fined, or otherwise punished, just as if they were his own person; So the heirs of the last Duke, of the Family *Loredano*, were fined to 1500 *Vecchini*, because it was found he had not lived according to the Majesty of his degree and quality; and this is a way to keep Dukes in awe, for fear their successors should bear the punishment of their faults. Now the Office of the *Correttori*, is to see what things are fallen amiss, in the administration of the late Duke, that accordingly as they find and acquaint the Great Council with it, by the plurality of Votes, things may be annull'd, added to, or altered, as they see occasion for it.

Within a fortnight after the *Doge's* death, all the Noble *Venetians* that are full thirty years Old, do meet in the great Council Hall; and as many Balls as there are men, are cast into a box: of which Balls, thirty are of Gold, or gilt, and the rest of Silver; every Noble draws one Ball, and they who have the

the thirty of Gold, retire into a room to cast the lot of thirty *Pallotte*, as they call it, or Balls, for they put in thirty, nine of which are of Gold, and they who draw these, do remain in the room; but others do go into the great Council Hall; in the mean while, of the nine who remained, the four who had the first four balls, do name five men apiece, whom they please; and the five who had the five last balls, do every one name four others; which number makes forty in all, and every one may name himself for one; and these are called the Electors of the first Election, who are confirmed by the *Gran Consiglio*, after which they break up. But the next day the forty men do put in forty balls, of which twelve are of Gold, and the rest of Silver; of these remain onely the twelve, who have drawn the golden balls, who are called the Electors of the second Election. Every one of these doth name two more, but he who drew the first golden ball, names three, in all twenty five; then these twenty five put in balls again, of which nine are of gold, and they

they who draw them, are called the Electors of the third Election. Again, every one of these nine, names what four he pleases, but he who drew the last golden ball, names only three, this makes up thirty five, who put in as many balls, whereof eleven are of gold, and they only who draw them do remain: these eleven name every one four, in all forty four; after which are again thrown in forty one balls of gold, and three of silver, the three with the silver ones are excluded, but the others remain, who are confirmed by the Gran Council, and these do Elect the Duke.

In order thereunto, they lock up themselves within the Council Hall, though the whole Palace be at that time under lock and key, and three of the most venerable of the company they chuse to be *Priori* of the Election, and two others to be Secretaries; the other thirty six divide themselves into four parties, every one going into what party he pleaseth; after this the three *Priori* do sit upon three chairs higher then the rest, and the two Secretaries
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over against, with a Table before them; then the Secretaries call the thirty six one after another, who put every one in a Box prepared for that effect, the name of him whom he desires should be Duke, and usually all those of one party do put in but for one; So that thereby four only are in nomination; after this the Secretaries open the Box, and read the names of those who are put in: who if they be in the company, are desired one after another to withdraw into another room; after which the *Priori* or Presidents aske every one of the Electors, whether they have any thing to object against those who are in nomination, why any one should not be chosen; and if any thing be brought against him, he is called in to clear himself: which if he cannot do, he is excluded, and another named in his place. Then are laid two boxes before the Secretaries, the one for the affirmative, & the other for the negative; within these every one is to put a little ball, and if in the affirmative there be more then in the other, it will remain; and this is done for every
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ry one of the four, of whom he who hath most balls doth remain : but the Votes for the affirmative must not be less then twenty five ; and they will not give over voting till it be come to that number, or past it : This being done, if he who is chosen be without, he is sent for; if within, they make him sit, and the forty or forty one acknowledge him to be Duke, and waite upon him to his house : where he staves for two dayes , till his Ducal habit be made ; then in the morning he goes to hear Mass at the Church of *St. Mark*, attended by all his Electors, and foreign Ministers ; then he goes into a *Pozzo*, as they call it, a kind of seat or chair with one of his nighest relations, and the Chancellour, and so is carried by twenty four Masters of the *Arsenal* about the Palace of *St. Mark*; at the same time the *Doge* and his kinsman , throwing monies amongst the people, till they come to the gate of the Ducal Palace, where he is expected by those who elected him , and the chief of the *Priori* layes the Ducal Cap, which is a kind of Crown; upon his head,

head, giving him the title of *Serenissimo*, and so wait on him to the ordinary lodging of the *Doges*, where he begins to receive publick visits of the Magistrates, and forrain Ministers.

He is allowed by the Republick five hundred *Zecchini*, or about two hundred and fifty pound by the month, for they are not very willing to bestow both honour and riches upon one; it is true, he hath also the disposal of some Ecclesiastical Offices, and of other places, which he may sell if they happen to be vacant in his time; once a week, that is every wednesday, he uses to go down into the Courts of Justice when Judges do sit, exhorting every one of them to do good speed and justice; and if any one hath applyed himself to him, he Commends the cause to the Judges, as the case requires.

The Ceremony I mentioned, of the Dukes instauration, is the more considerable, because it befalls him but once in his life. But there is another which once a year he performs, when he

he Espouses the Sea upon Ascension day, which to see as well as the *Carnaval*, is worth the curiosity of Strangers; for as one allows a great liberty of *Mascarads*, and variety of sports; so the other affords as curious a shew as can be seen. The Duke attended by Ambassadors, and by the Chief Nobles in a rich and stately Ship or Barge, (though indeed it is neither, but of a singular making) named *Buccentoro*, attended by several thousands of *Gondola's*, goes three or four miles out to Sea, amongst the shooting of the Guns in the ships, which are thereabouts, and the sounding of Trumpets; he casts a Ring into the Sea, and pronounces these *Italian* words; *Io ti sposo in Segno di Dominio*, I Espouse thee in token of my Dominion over thee; this he doth in the name of the Republick, which (by a grant of Pope *Alexander* the third, thereby expressing his Obligation to her for her assistance against the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa*, with the approbation of all *Italian* Princes and States, and of several parts of *Europe*, and

and by a long successive possession) hath the Royalty of the *Adriatick* Sea, or gulf of *Venice*, which hitherto the Republick hath stoutly secured from *Turks* and *Pirates*.

Having mentioned the *Carnaval*, I must explain what it is : At a certain time of the year, immediately before Lent, about Shrove-Tuesday, but some dayes sooner, according to the new Stile, *Roman* Catholicks do observe a custome which they received from Heathens, which is, to pass that time with all the mirth and sports they can conceive, glutting themselves with pleasures before they enter into Lent, which they account to be a time of Penance to them; *Rome* her self is as busie at it as the rest, a great street of it named the *Corso*, being the ordinary place for Races of Jewes, Horses, Buffles, &c. for shews of some new Coaches, Charrets, people disguised, and in vizzards, who throw up to the windows (which are full of women) eggs full of perfumed Waters, Sweetmeates, Sugar-plums, &c. The most grave Cardinals and Prelates, give

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themselves a full Carrier, some as spectators, others as actors, it being a thing well known, how one of the Cardinals was by the late Pope commanded out of *Rome*, because in a womans cloathes, he had been riding on horseback in this *Corso*.

But in this, *Venice* goes beyond all other places, if one considers the number, variety and quality of their sports, amongst which are their famous *Operas*, so much talk'd of abroad ; 'tis indeed a great delight to see their comical pieces acted upon their Stages, with such a variety of Scenes, number of *Machines*, and excellent musick, of Voices and instruments ; which Vocal musick, though it seems not to please those who are not used to it, by reason of certain *Fredonies* or quakings, yet it is the most learned of any musick in other places : Nor only they employ their good *Cantarine*, as they call them, that is, women in *Venice* who have good Voices, and make profession of singing, but also when they hear of any extraordinary ones abroad, they are sent for (as hath been that rare

Singing

singing woman of *Bologna*) and are liberally rewarded for their pains. In point of Playes, that which is the most Comical, is that whereat *Venetians* are pleased best of all, and indeed their Bouffoons go beyond any in the world; and if the young Nobles who stand by be not pleased at what is acted, sometime out of frolick, they hiss, whistle, throw Apples and other things upon the Actors, and do such like things, which if it were not in *Carnaval* time, were much unbecoming the *Venetian* Gravity. One day as one of the Actors fell upon a learned Discourse about Natural Phylosophy, one of the grave *Venetian* Nobleman had hardly patience to let him go so far as he did, but at last he could forbear no longer, but took his *Bezetta* or Cap, and threw it at him, saying, *You Fool, I am come hither to be made to laugh, and not to be instructed; and therefore change Discourse, and make me laugh.*

At that time there is also great dancing after their way, that is, leading one unknown to you, (neither can you tell whether it be a man or a woman)

but no speaking at all, and they are all disguised, and in visards, at the playing of the Violins, they dance from one chamber to another. And as the people of *Venice* are great Gamesters, so specially about this time in a disguise, they Dice and Card away many thousands of pounds : Women also who at other times are kept so close, have liberty allowed them to run up and down *Incognito*, which doth favour many a meeting, and a rendezvouz, which at other times they would tremble to think of ; as indeed it would cause poysonings, stabbings and murthers ; but then a man happens sometimes to Game and Dance with his Wife, and yet not know her, because they never speak a word : Indeed it is a wonder to see what a *topsy turvy* there is at that time in that City, so much they have given up themselves for the time to their pleasures ; and therefore 'twas not without reason that one of the *Gran Turk's* Servant whom he had sent thither about that time, told him at his return, *That the Venetians were very Grave and Wise,*
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but once a year they were used to run all stark mad; and again upon a sudden (on Ash wednesday) they came to themselves from their distractedness; yet some are so foolish (but this is specially in Rome) under pretence of doing penance for their extravagancies, as to beat and whip themselves under their Mistresses windows, and up and down the streets, and fetch blood out of their backs and shoulders.

Now after this Discourse, it will not be amiss to pass from the pleasant, to that which is serious, and speak very few words of a politick practice of the Republick, which at first was introduced by necessity, but by experience hath been found beneficial to them, 'tis the use they make of strangers, not only to be their great and inferiour Land Officers, but also their common Souldiers, as *Germans, French, Switzers* and *Italians*, Subjects of other Princes; by the first, they free themselves from dangers, which valiant and ambitious men make their Country run, who having an interest at home, and the love of an Army in the field,

may be enticed to attempt against the liberty of their Country, which a stranger must not pretend to ; besides that, when wars are ended, they are dismissed, and the State eased of his charges: And by the last they spare the life of their Subjects , with the price of that of strangers; who do fight, offend and defend as they are put upon it ; and whilst their own Subjects have been safe, and grown numerous at home, they have made Conquests with the loss of Forrainers blood : By a practice contrary to this, and by sending too far and too many of their people out of the Land, the *Spaniards* have unpeopled their Country, and made it void of inhabitants.

But from this general and publick practice of the *Venetians*, I will pass to a more particular and private one, introduced also for the safety of the State; for hereby discoveries are made, not only of horrid and secret crimes, by what rank soever of persons committed, but chiefly of Plots and Conspiracies against the State, or the Lawes, which to reveale in those parts is very dan-

dangerous; and if the Accuser was known, the accused could take one course or other quickly to make him away; therefore in a publick place of the Palace of St. *Mark*, there is for the Office of the Inquilitors a little hole in the wall, through the which one can put in any Bill of Accusation, without naming the accuser, yet with circumstances, and some necessary directions, whereby further informations may be had. This place is under several Keys, without which it cannot be opened, so that in case one of the Keepers were concerned, it could not be concealed from the knowledge of others. But this way is subject to many great inconveniencies, that every one would not approve, were it not for any other consideration but this, that hardly any one is safe thereby from troubles and accusations; yet that jealousy of State of the body of that Republick is so great, that as they think to prevent dangers, they are carried to an extraordinary severity, and do unjust things; As the example of the Noble *Foscarini* can wit-

ness; he was accused by two wicked fellows, to have had 'correspondency with a forrain Embassadour, whereupon he was hanged; and yet a little while after one of the Rogues being condemned to dye for some villanies he had done, Confessed that *Foscarini* was innocent, and that what he had done against him was out of spleen and malice; whereupon what remained of the Corps was by order taken down, honourably buried, and some satisfaction given the Family by the State; but alas this could never bring the man to life again.

Now I shall come to the nature and customes of *Venetians*, whence it will appear how Subjects there stand affected to their Superiours; because from the beginning of this discourse I determined to speak of every most important and essential thing concerning that Republick; but I will do it briefly: And as the good or bad nature, manners and customes of a Nation, are that which make it flourish, or cause its ruine; so hence one may be able to ground his judgment about this, how
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long or how little that Republick is like to last.

The Republick of *Venice* is an Assembly consisting of a great number of Noblemen, so much differing in temper, judgement and affection, that it may be compared to a Sea blown upon by all manner of winds : Private ends and interests are strong amongst them, of late years more then they were heretofore, according to that decay which every thing on Earth is exposed unto; and after the height which through her vertue this Republick hath attained unto, it is not to be admired, if in these last years she is fallen into some declination, through that general corruption which is in the World. These Nobles are greedy to increase their Riches, which sometimes makes them shrink from that which is honest and just; they are very desirous of glory, and of getting a name, which is indeed a commendable thing (as long as men aim at it by good and lawfull means) were it not that this works jealousies, envies and emulations of one against another : They love to be feared, and

look for an extraordinary respect; Hence 'tis that they dislike so much chidings, censures, smart Counsels, and that they will not confess the faults which they have committed; they are apt to suspect others of having designs to diminish their greatness; and therefore they ballance one another, that they should not grow so potent as to give a just ground of fear to their Neighbours, whose Glory they both observe and envie, except they be of the same party, which are things unavoidable in Republicks; they take much notice of those who put delays to the obtaining of their desires, or who exclude them from their pretensions, till they have occasion of being ayenged.

Further, the love of the Noble *Venetian*, and the confidence which he seems to have in others, or which he wishes others to have in him, are not real nor sincere, but fained, except there be a golden chain to make it fast: the truth is, they are much self-ended, and their friendship lasts no longer then doth their interest; they are extraordinary

traordinary dissemblers, and therefore make great shewes, and would give signs of great affection one towards another, as indeed the State's practise is in a high degree, with all those Princes who are able to do them a kindness, or a discourtesie one time or other, for indeed they look not only to the present, but also to that which is to come.

The meetings which upon every holy day they have in a place about St. Mark, called *Broglio*, do not breed that love and affection which they talk of, but rather a high and extraordinary dissembling; whence arises the use of low Congees, and humble Salutations, and those sweet and courteous words they speak one to another, which are given under the pretence of the dignity of them who receive it, and in hopes that others will return it to them in the same degree; so they think thereby to become the more venerable to the people, to whom this becomes as a president of that respect they are to give to the Nobility: And the truth is, they love excess in every thing

thing that pleases them, but hate to hear others commending any thing they have; they love gifts and favours, which do bring honour or profit to them, whereby afterwards are obtained those graces and kindnesse which they desire.

Their peace and preservation by any means they endeavour to get, out of this wrong principle, that *the evil which accidentally produces good may be committed*, according to the practise of those States-men who walk meerly upon politick grounds. They are very exact in the choice they make of their Ambassadors, for they chuse subtle, sagacious, and dexterous persons, who know the way how to intinuate themselves and their affairs into the esteem and affection of those whom they treat withall; accute and eloquent in their Discourses, of a sweet conversation; wise to take advantages, and to improve opportunities; prudent to overcome difficulties, and not to provoke when they refuse those things which they have no mind, or which 'tis not their interest to grant, and indefatiga-
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ble in their endeavours to obtain their ends, and in their writing to their Masters every particular thing worthy of their knowledge : They search, and usually find out the love, hatred, the favours, disgraces, interests, dependencies, and contrary parties, the strength, inclinations, favourites, and the designs of Princes, and who upon the least overtures do find out, observe and dive into things of any great concernment, and they spare nothing to get information of every thing. This in politicks is the nature of the Nobility of *Venice*, wherein if they do amiss, they are not alone; the same being found in other Countries, for States are governed by Policy, more then according to Conscience or Religion, (though seldome without some pretences to this last) and self ends, interest, Covetousnesse and Ambition grow in others Gardens as well as in *Venice*.

Now in ordinary things, and of another kind, the nature of the *Venetian* Noblemen; specially of those who are young, is very odious, by reason of
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their pride, and of their insolencies; it causes them to commit strange things, as almost every Subject and every place can testifie, as well as the curses pronounced against them: So that although their Government be so excellent, and the general administration be so much esteemed as indeed it deserves it, yet their moral and particular actions are very irregular: And as Lawes are severe in punishing faults committed against the State, so they are remiss (at least in their Execution) against particular failings and miscarriages; hence are caused insults, damages and violences, which some suffer from the Nobles in their Goods, States, Honour and Life, specially those who are poor, and who have no friends nor favour, nor means enough to resist them. So the Estates of the Widow and the Fatherless are exposed to their Covetousness; the honour of Maids and Women to their Luxury, and the persons and lives of men to their hatred and revenge: And these evil courses they are strengthened in, by reason of their Birth, Riches, Power,

Authority, Relations and Friends ; for as they are almost all subject to these actions, they avour one another, not knowing how soon it may happen to be the turn of every one of them ; upon this account they go unpunished, so that of a hundred hardly the third part is accused ; and of these the proofs are clear hardly against the half, and those who are convinced are but slightly punished ; so that this proceeding encourages them to be imperious, peremptory, and unjust to others.

Yet the fault of this is not to be attributed to the Magistrates, for in things of concernment they are very exact in doing justice, when they who are wronged apply themselves to them for redress. But the question is, how they may bring in their complaints to them, which is very difficult, not only because clear proofs are not easily brought in against them, some of their excesses being committed either in the dark and secretly, or very dexterously, but chiefly, because as soon as a Nobleman hath misdemeaned himself, he
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stops proceedings against him, either with threatnings or flatteries, promises, and if need be, with money, which indeed is the last remedy they use : but for the most part they lay the fault upon the *Bravi*, that is in plain *English*, the *Hectors*, who being men of no fortune, do for a subsistence accompany them, and act according to their orders ; or else upon some of their Servants whom they send out of the way ; or they induce some to be false witnesses for them, whereby they put a cheat upon the Lawes and Justice ; whence we see, that in *Venice* they have also as in other places, a new Logick, and a way of drawing strange consequences, as this, He is a gallant man, for he hath three or four thousand pound a year, because by the strength of his monies he can come off with any bad and base actions ; like great flies, who having strong wings fly through cob-webs, when poor weak ones are caught : So that if sometimes it falls out that a Nobleman be punished with Exile or Prison, in a short time he is released by the means of friends.

friends and monies. This shews how the best things are apt to be corrupted, and that this Republick so famous and so excellent doth degenerate in her members, which in time may infect the head and the whole body, for bad humours of this kind are apt to break out at one time or other, especially in this place, where the old as the young Noblemen are divided into factions and parties, and have intestine hatred one for another, and against the Citizens; with the former by reason of envyings in point of honour and dignity, with the latter upon the account of Riches, and this ever causes corruption in a Common-wealth.

Hence it is, that on the other side Subjects of all degrees and qualities are dissatisfied for things named before, and particularly seeing themselves deprived of their goods upon slight grounds, and that they cannot enjoy charges and offices, wherein they think themselves used not as patriots, but like strangers. Merchants also and Tradesmen have some grounds of discontent, because the Nobles having of late

late turned their Trade which was by Sea, into that which is by Land, either by Authority or by strength of monies, have ingrossed it to themselves, whether it be Corn, Wine, Silks, Iron, Wool, Timber, Coals, and any other considerable commodities, which is the cause of complaints and miseries pitty-worthy; for the Nobles being monied men they get things over the head of their inferiours.

But the worst is, that these excesses are committed in a cruel manner; and they in great numbers are sent into all parts of the Dominions, where they extort from the Subjects monies to satisfy their Covetousness and Ambition, and act many unjust things, which are effects of their tyranny, but are the cause of the damages and injuries of Subjects, whereby justice is perverted, charity destroyed, honesty suppressed, the fear of God removed from before their eyes, and the people defrauded of the protection they have a right to expect; whence sad consequences may be drawn against those States where crimes go unpunished,

nished, for 'tis not enough to see good actions rewarded, if bad ones be not discountenanced; though as I have already expressed, the Magistrate is not to be blamed for these miscarriages, yet in time these things cause ruine and destruction to States. A great prosperity is the greatest enemy of men, for it makes them insolent, licentious, bold to do evil, and even apt to disturb their own rest, and of others; and 'tis certain that usurpation, abuses, and other injuries take so deep roots in the breasts of Subjects, that upon a favourable occasion they will resent it.

These corruptions as they are prejudicial to the States wherein they are spread, so they prove oftentimes beneficial to forraign Publick Ministers, who know how to use the Covetousness of some useful persons and their Masters monies, according to the fidelity they ought to have for his interests; and 'tis a thing which *Venetians* practise, and the *Spaniards* most of all other Nations, to leave it to the discretion of their Ministers in forraign places

places to distribute that way what sums they think fit, for which they take their word, and ask no further account of it, knowing that to stint and confine, would not onely discourage them, but also prove prejudicial to their affairs, no monies being better employed, then those which are laid out upon such occasions; and though they should amount high, yet a good advice, or another good affair pays for all: And in this case no manner of friendship is to be slighted or rejected, though it were never so low and contemptible, because it may be profitable upon some accounts, and it may serve at one time or another.

Now as to matter of Trade, which just now I was speaking of, although it be commonly known to be beneficial to Nations, yet because every one is not well acquainted with the reason and causes of it, 'twill not be amiss to say something about it, not as to the particulars of it, for it would take up too much time, there being so many and several wayes, according to the nature of places and Countries; and those

those who understand well the manner of it are to be esteemed in a State, and their advice is to be taken about the way of settling and improving it, by Princes and their Ministers; the truth of which is so well known, and so important, that in all Countreyes there are Councils and Committees settled about it, who are willing to hear any thing that may be proposed tending to the advantage of it; and they who make a constant practice and profession of it, must needs by their own experience be able to give light and directions about it; and herein their opinion is to be taken as soon, if not sooner, then that of the greatest Statesmen, if reason be joyned to their experience. The truth is, I look upon this as the ground and bottome of Policy; for let the occasions of the State as to charges be what they will, when there are sure and constant yearly incomes 'tis ever supplied, and so is able not only to settle peace at home, but also preserve it self from forraign attempts, and even upon occasion to look abroad.

Trade

Trade therefore is not to be neglected, neither is it to be accounted a shame for a Gentleman to follow it, as it is in a potent Kingdome of Europe, which indeed is nothing but a pollicy of the Prince, even to be sure of men to follow him in the warrs; for they having nothing to do are glad of any occasion to better themselves, which they would be loth to do if they were gotten to a settledness of life; yet poverty and want of imployment makes many a one drop to the Gallows before there be occasion for them in the War. Now the advantages which come by Trade are these. *First*, It makes some places famous and flourish, which otherwise would be poor and of no esteem, which are so far from having any thing within themselves to procure them plenty and riches, that they want bread and necessaries wherewith to subsist, if it be not brought them from without: Of this sort is *Venice*, the riches of whose Nobility have been much increased, if not wholly gotten by Trade, easily carried on there with the help of the Sea, and of some navigable Rivers. And
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what is it else but Trade which hath made *Amsterdam* so rich and so famous? And I dare say, according as it flourisheth or decayeth, it makes places famous, or of no note. By this means *Legorn*, formerly a dark hole, is become so universally known, *Savona* is almost forgotten, and *Genoa*, which hath undone the Trade of this last, is so much talkt of. What is become of *Antwerp* since the Trade of it hath been carried to *Amsterdam*? And how many more instances could I give of this.

Secondly, Trade keeps people in exercise, those who follow it minding their busineses; otherwise if they lye in idleness, 'tis of them as of still waters, which usually breed corruption, and like those bodies, in which for want of exercise, bad and malignant humours do abound: so lazy and idle people are a dangerous burden to the States wherein they live.

Thirdly, Trade keeping men in exercise, frees them also from wants and straits, which often drive men to great extreamities; hereby many are kept at work, and get a livelyhood, and so

So are thereby engaged in the defence of the State, under whose protection they enjoy it ; and being thus content and quiet, they are submissive and obedient to Authority.

Fourthly, They who understand the way of Trade about Manufactures or otherwise, if they be frugal they thrive and grow rich, whereby they are able upon occasion to assist the States, to relieve their neighbours, and pay Taxes and other Duties.

And Fifthly, The better Trade is, the greater store of moneyes it brings into the publick Treasure, by the way of Taxes, Excise, Farms and Customes raised upon imported or exported Commodities, when people send or carry their VVares to the good Market, or when they bring things from thence ; all which is for the publick good, and for the particular advantage of Princes : besides that, these Reasons I have brought why Trade should be promoted, are all grounded upon politick grounds ; and severall others I could name, which I omit for brevity sake. The truth is, that all Nations
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are so generally and so fully convinced of it, that they now apply themselves to it, as *England* of old, and *Holland* since the States were formed, and of late the *French*, the *Swede*, and others.

I omit to speak of that lust of the flesh which Reigns every where in *Venice*, where 'tis fulfilled by young and old of all Sexes in the way of fornication, adultery, incest, sodomy, &c. so that though they be great Politicians, they are bad Christians and moral livers. Not long since, within these five or six years there burst out a business in *Venice* which made a great noise. A widow (of a competent estate, according to her quality, but inferiour to her heart) named *Signora Cecilia*, resolved to bestow her means, and the rest of her life (as she said) upon pious uses; to this effect, with the private encouragement she received from some of the Nobles, and being publickly countenanced by two of the most credited amongst them; one of which was of the Family *Sagredo*; she got a great house, and upon the account of
I charity,

charity, she received in't many poor young Maids, whom she afforded necessary provisions unto, and on the other side she made them work for it: And when once she had them in, she would suffer none of the Relations, not so much as the Mother, to speak with them; and as many poor people who had three or four Daughters were very glad to dispose of one of them, so in a little time she got a number of between four or five hundred within her walls; according to their ages they were kept in different places; and as they say, a great severity was observed with the generality of them, insomuch that the Mothers and some of the Relations began to clamour, that she cruelly tormented their Children (though they could hardly know what was done within her house:) Some said she kept them in fetters, others, that she whipped them often for no offence; and as there is no end, when once common ignorant people have given way to their fancies, so others said she roasted some of them to satisfy her cruelty; and although she heard of these things, she

she seemed not to be moved at it, and so held out several years; but at last the State could not avoid taking notice of it upon many pregnant informations, that under pretence of retiredness and Nunnery, this was a Seminary of lasciviousness, and that some of the Chief Nobles had been seen to go in at undue hours, and against the Orders seemingly settled in her house, not to admit men into it : The business came to a great debate; and although she had potent friends, yet the plurality carried it against her; though it was thus mitigated, *onely to avoid suspicion*, yet she was found guilty of too much severity, and of profaneness, for she had inserted this into the Letany, *Sancta Cecilia ora pro nobis* : so that after twelve years standing her School was thus broken up.

And this story calls to my mind one of another nature, which at the same time was acted at *Rome* by a person of the same Sex, though for contrary ends; the former being for propagation, and this last for destruction. In the last Plague in *Rome*, an Ancient Wo-

man, called *Madonna Giulia*, took that opportunity to use her Art, which (as she confessed since) helped several hundreds into the other world, under the notion of the Plague. Her pretended profession was to dress Womens heads, but her real practice was to play the *Ruffiana*, as they call it; and as by many married women she was sent for to comb their hair, and the like, and after they were entered into discourse, she felt which way their pulse did beat, all tending to this, that one had a cruel Father, the other a jealous Husband, and a third, a troublesome Brother; but she undertook to rid them of them all; and she was as good as her word, for by the means of certain clear water which was given them to drink, they were soon dispatched, and no sign of poyson appeared without: But God did thus please to put an end to her wicked life; there began to be some suspicion of her, because almost every one of those whom she frequented had lost one Relation or other; and one of these let fall some words, expressing repentance of
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a wicked Act she had done, which she charged upon this *Giulia*; which words did not fall to the ground, but being reported to some Magistrate, hereby was laid the ground of the jealousy, which afterwards they had of her; and therefore to find her out, they contrived thus: A Woman well instructed of what she had to do, sent for her one day to dress her head, and as she was about it, the other began to sigh from time to time, which she taking notice of, asked what ail'd her, she answered with sighs, and said, she was an unfortunate married woman; she went about to comfort her, but the first and second visit they went no further; but the following, this woman to her sighs adding tears (which she had at command) and complaining of her unhappiness, and many times calling her self an unfortunate woman, the other gave her some comfortable words, and hopes of remedy; So that (not to insist longer upon this) the other having shew'd a purse with monies in it, she said solemnly she would give it to any one who would rid her

of her Husband; she promised to bring her the water on the next day, which she did in a little bottle : but against the time of her coming some Officers had hid themselves behind a hanging, and having heard all the discourses that passed between them, as she was stretching the hand to give her the bottle, these men laid hold on her, and by good chance she did not let the bottle fall, as she might have done, which may be had saved her life ; but having it, they tryed it upon a Dog, and other Creatures, which died of it ; whereupon she was condemned , and told the ingredients of it ; discovering also the remedy to hinder its operation, which was published to prevent further mischiefs , in case there were more of that water abroad ; and this was onely to drink a little Vinegar : but she was carried to *Campo di fiori*, the place of Execution for Hereticks, as they call them, Witches, and great and notorious Malefactors , and there she was executed.

But now I must come to the particular way of an efficacious negotiating
with

with the Republick of *Venice*, which 'tis not only difficult, but almost impossible to exprefs; for though the Lawes and Offices be still the ſame, yet a change of perſons will work a neceſſity of alteration in the method; So that publick Miniſters ought to Act according to the nature of buſineſſes, and the conjuncture of affairs, and to take ſuch reſolutions as their wiſdome ſhall ſuggeſt, for this depends chiefly upon the prudence of the Miniſter, who having received before from his Predeceſſour an exact relation of the preſent State, and a Character of the Prince, and of all his Miniſters, how they ſtand affected, and which way they may be wrought upon, as alſo of the adherents to his Maſters intereſt, will be enabled thereby to negotiate with more ſucceſs; which to attain unto at *Venice*, a great watchfulneſs is required to lay hold upon the occaſions, which ſlightings, hatred and perſecutions between the Nobility do afford, wherein a great activity and quickneſs is to be uſed; and this for certain will prove very ſatisfactory and advantageous.

For indeed, when once the Nobles are bent one against another, their passion drives them to utmost extremities, and all things they sacrifice to their desire of revenge. And because Rules are strengthened by demonstrations, and precepts are more effectual being back't with examples, I will bring here a late one, as notable as any the *Venetian* History can afford, which is this: A Church-man commended by the Arch Duke of *Inspruck*, to the Abbot *Grimani* in *Venice*, in the Abbot's absence, at a Play received one day a box on the ear from one of the Nobles called *Querini*, about a seat, of which the fault was laid to this last; but because the other was not a man to dispute it with a Noble, he went out and complained of it to *Grimani*, who as soon as he heard of it, run immediately to the Play-house, but it was too late, however he met *Querini* in the street, and after few complaining words, namely, that he ought to have had a respect to him; the other not returning him a satisfactory answer, he gave him a cuff on the ear; but

but immediately they were parted, and very shortly after the Church-man was cudgell'd, whereat the Abbot was highly incens'd, yet the friends of both sides did what they could to reconcile them; which they did seemingly, but not in effect, for not long after, *Querini* with several men waited for *Grimani's* coming out of a house which he was in, as he knew't by his *Gondola's* being there, and other informations; but it hapned that *Pietro Grimani*, one of the Abbots Brothers, being there also came out, and as he began to call for the *Gondola*, he was saluted with a volley of shot, but not hurt, and some who were with him returned the like towards the place whence they had received theirs; at the hearing of which the Abbot was alarm'd, and having said, they murder my Brother, he came down, and went presently into his boat, having ordered those men that were with him to range about the place; and they were not gone very far, but some of them lighted upon a man, of whom having enquired what he did there, he

said, as he was going home, he had been wounded in the leg by the way; *Grimani* hearing of it, by all means desired him to come into his boat, either to take a lodging with him that night, for it was late, where he should be sure of a good Chyrurgion, or else he would carry him to his own house; the other refused it absolutely, but of necessity they would have him to come in; and when he was in the Boat, the other knew him, though in a disguise, to be *Querini*, who had been wounded by some of *Pietro Grimani's* men, and forsaken by his upon the Abbots coming out; away they carry him into *Grimani's* Palace, where a Council was held by the three Brothers, what they should do with him. *Giovanni* (as it hath been reported since) a man of a mild nature, represented the advantage of the present occasion to do a generous and glorious action, advising to use him well and kindly if he would stay, if not, to carry him safely to his own house; but it being considered by the others, that in this he was the aggressour, and that since,
for

for all the late agreement, he had shew-
ed himself to be unreconcilable, was
the surest for them to make him away,
and so it was done; neither could it
be heard of since, what was become of
his body: The Senate upon complaint
ordered *Grimani* to appear, which they
refused, whereupon sentence was past
against them for contempt of the Court,
and declared convinced of the fact, by
reason of their flight, and the house to
be pulled down; which was effected:
the other two lay private, but the Ab-
bot got together a considerable number
of people, and plundered several houses
of the Noblemen, and burnt others,
doing a great deal of mischief up and
down; and after retiring himself some-
times into the Arch Dukes Countries,
and other times into the *Mantuan*,
both these Princes being his intimate
friends; at whose earnest solicitations
the Republick weary of the troubles
he made several parts of the Country
to suffer, gave him and all leave to
come in; since which time *Giovanni*
died, as I said before; the Abbot also
is dead not long since, whom two of
his

his Sisters married to Noblemen would not suffer a Jesuite to come nigh to confess him, as I heard from him that was kept out, a sign that several of the Nobility have no kindness for that Order: So that of the three Brothers, *Pietro* is left alone; all the se troubles have brought low that Family.

And let this be said by the by, to shew how far animosities can go between the Noble *Venetians*. Now I must speak of the dependency, and good or bad intelligencies of that Republick with other Princes. This is the most difficult, and most important part which a Minister can treat of, seeing it is no question to treat of clear, evident and visible things, but of those affections which are hidden in the heart of men, hard to be discovered in Princes, but hardest of all in a Republick, which hath a mixture of so many tempers and heads, in whom is to be seen a palpable difference of judgement and affection: however some observations may be made of it about the common interest, which do set forth the minds of men; for by the effects we
judge

judge of the affection, as this in Princes is over-ruled by their interest.

First, With the Pope the Republick is glad to keep a good correspondency, and upon certain occasions she would perswade him of her good intentions, not so much to take away the bad opinion which several Popes had of the Republick, as not to be crossed by them in the Tithes or Tenth parts which they receive from the Clergy, and other benefits of the same nature; besides that, part of the State of *Venice* lyes open to the attempts of the Pope by the way of the *Potefine*, which is an open Country exposed to any incursions, and wherein is no strong holds, only some Valleys, which being once passed by an Army, they could find all manner of necessary provisions to make it subsist, and could without any hinderance (except there were an Army in the field) run to the very Gates of *Verona* and *Padoa*, which Hostilities would go nigh to work some Revolutions in the State, at least an alteration in the affections of subjects, whom discontentments and oppressions make very often

ten desirous of changes and novelties, especially if they did not suddenly receive that protection which they expect from their Superiours ; besides that the very name of the Pope, and the interest he hath with the Subjects of those States, which own his Religion, by the means of Monks, Fryars, and Emissaries, who would work scruples in their minds, and so weaken their hearts and their hands, beside that ; some other neighbour Prince might be induced out of some aversion to the *Venetians*, or their own interest (as we have seen the *Spaniard* to be) to share in the spoyl, or out of a perswasion of the justice of the Popes Armes. All this the Republick is well informed of, as also of the pretensions of the Church upon the *Potefine*, which hath been dismembred from the Dukedome of *Ferrara*, besides several other claims upon the Patriarchal of *Aquileia*, and the liberty of the City of *Zeneda*, and upon some other Sea-places. Out of these considerations the Republick endeavours as handsomly as she can to keep a fair correspondency (though 'twere
but

but in shew) with the Pope, with some easie demonstrations of it, as to make the Relations of Popes Noblemen of *Venice* : And although she doth not sue for the friendship of many Cardinals, as it was done before, yet she hath some there born within the State, who do the Republick all the Services they can, neither doth the Republick altogether neglect their friendship, though 'twere for nothing else but to have an account what passes in the Colledge of Cardinals and elsewhere ; yet Popes have much complained of the Republick, by reason of the losses which the Ships of the Subjects of the Church have suffered from Pyrates, for want of keeping a *Squadra* of Ships or Gallies for the security of the *Tolse*, as *Venetians* are obliged to do, and because of that alliance and friendship which the Republick hath formerly contracted with Protestants and reformed States; so by reason of the authority which she assumes over Ecclesiastical persons, for they give those Noblemen whom they send Governours into places power to be Keepers, Interpreters,

ters, Lawgivers, and Judges over the Clergy within their Jurisdiction and things belonging to them ; however the breaches which upon these accounts have been between them, were ever made up one way or other, and the *Venetian* Subjects by the extraordinary care of the Senate kept in obedience as before. And at present the Pope and the Republick do well agree, having very lately obtained not only his Gallies, and several sums of money, and number of men, but also the suppression of some Monasteries, whose Revenues fell into the hands of the Republick.

With the Emperour the Republick hath no great friendship, there being old grudges upon the account of the *Uscocchi*, and the great troubles she received from *Maximilian* and *Charles* the V. of the House of *Austria*; neither doth she esteem him much, knowing that his forces alone are not able to hurt her, as we have seen when the last war was carried on between them, for the *Venetians* fell lustily upon the Seaplaces of the Emperour ; so that upon

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occasion the Republick hath not only rejoyced at his troubles, but also hath given Counsels, (and some think Monneys) to his enemies, as 'twas done in the Wars of *Bohemia*, if we will believe what the *Austrians* say, who adde, that when the late Prince Palatine was crowned King of *Bohemia*, there passed a good correspondency between him and the Republick, and that some Letters from *Venice* to that King were intercepted, full of kind and affectionate expressions, whereby the intercepters made a discovery of the supplies he received from thence : Now upon this and other accounts the Republick will ever be jealous of the greatness and prosperity of the Emperour, that is of the present family for the hereditary Countries joyned to the Imperial Dignity; and that union which a wise and high spirited Emperour can make of several Princes of *Germany* to his interests, will render him formidable to the Republick, which for all this gives an outward shew of friendship and confidence to the Emperour, whose Dominions joyning with great part of theirs
makes

makes them to mistrust him, and with him to fall rather than to rise higher.

With the Crown of *France* the Republick had of old a great correspondence, and she renewed it, since the *Spaniards* were grown so potent in *Italy*, and so dangerous to the Liberties of it, with an intent thereby to balance the affairs of it, and to be esteemed in a Court so potent and so absolute as that is. The truth is, there hath ever been a great friendship, as long as it might consist with their interest; for then and when the French Power became too great, they fenced against it, only to keep themselves from being swallowed up with it, which the necessity of self-preservation will allow to any State: And as in the present Turkish VVar they have sometimes received summs of money from thence, and men, though not so much as they wished for, or their necessities required, yet this hath laid upon them a further obligation to continue in that friendship, which hath not been interrupted with fallings out about places, pretensions,

sions, and interests, as it hath happened to them with the *Spaniards*: Hence it is that in the troubles of *Monferrat* and *Savoy*, the Republick gave the *French* some supplies of monies, and other encouragements against the *Spaniards*, whose interests, inclination and manners, providence hath made directly opposite to the former; And when they saw the *Spanish* Forces employed another way, they made use of theirs against them, and they laid so much to heart the taking of *Vercelli* from the Duke of *Savoy* by the *Spaniard*, that the Republick by the means of her Ambassadors did her utmost to engage all great Princes to force the *Spaniard* to a restitution of it: This I speak concerning that which is past, in time of peace, for no consequence is to be drawn from their present dealings, because by reason of the War they stand in need of every Neighbour, and so must keep fair with all.

The Republick is well affected to *England*, omitting no occasion of doing a pleasure to it, and upon good grounds too,

too, for in times of War she hath received thence, men, ships and ammunition, though not in the proportion she desired; yet *England* is so well disposed towards it, out of a principle of generosity, charity, and some interest, that upon occasion she may expect help and protection from thence; as it was made appear to the world, when *Paul* the fifth fell out with the Republick; neither doth the difference of Religion obstruct such an inclination, the Republick being very politick, and of all other States of *Italy*, caring least for the Pope.

The Duke of *Savoy* is the Prince of *Italy*, whom the Republick hath strikter union with, for there he is esteemed, as for the valour which all the Princes of that Family are endowed with, so for their strength, independent and absolute Authority, the Republick putting a great deal of confidence in them, and upon all occasions they will unite their Counsel, and their Forces in the defence one of another; and there was never more joy expressed at *Venice* for the success of any for-

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rain State, as for the victories of the late Duke, manifested openly, and upon publick places; and although there hapned some little misunderstanding between them from the Duke of *Savoy's* part after the sentence of excommunication was fulminated against them, it was soon rectified, and at present the Republick receives considerable supplies from thence in the business of *Candia*, he not onely entertaining some Forces in their service, but also having lent them his General *Marques's Villa*, who since hath been called home.

The Republick loves also the *Gran Duke of Tuscany* for their common ends, which they say, are tending to the preservation of the publick liberty of *Italy*; and are both concerned to bridle the Pope, and the *Spaniard* in *Naples* and *Milan*.

All their correspondency with *Genoa* is from that ancient emulation between both, and for their common interest, which is to promote Trade between them: And now the *Genoese* are so degenerated, and the *Venetians* so busied,

busied, that the grounds of their former jealousies are extinct, and their enmities changed into a desire of preserving the publick liberty, and their own in particular, especially the *Genoese*, who have reason to be affraid of their Neighbours.

Of *Mantua*, the Republick is very tender, for he is their next neighbour, who in some kind, though he be absolute and soveraign, stands under her protection. The late Duke was by several of the Nobles called the Son of the Republick; he was often at *Venice* conversing every day with some of the Nobles, especially with the *Grimani*, of whom they had no jealousy, as they have of their Princes and their Ambassadors; it is true, that their conversation was done in publick more then in private, though in both.

With the Dukes of *Parma* and *Modena* the Republick keeps fair for the common preservation, and the more, that these two Families are of late fallen from the *Spaniard*, to be for the *French* interest, though of late a petty discontent appeared with the former,
upon

upon the account of his Brother; and these Princes do seldom act of their own heads, but they follow the motions of others.

They stand well affected to the *Hollanders*, not so much out of any natural inclination and conformity of temper, for in this, there is a vast difference; but upon the account of interest, for upon occasion *Venice* hath received from thence Souldiers, Armes, Ammunition and Ships; and although they be at a considerable distance one from another, yet the conveniency of the Sea doth favour their communication: And this friendship is grounded chiefly upon the common jealousy they have both of the house of *Austria*, from whose obedience the *Hollanders* were forced to withdraw, and against which the *Venetians* have an interested and politick antipathy; out of this consideration they have had the complacency to allow some *Dutch* men the liberty of their Presses, even in things about Religion, who have there great Ware-houses, and who also are winked at in the exercise of their Religion:

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Yet to this I must add, how the *Hollanders* jealousy of the house of *Austria* is much decreased, to give place to a new one of a neerer and more potent Neighbour, the *Austrian* interest lying at present very low in the world; though the *Venetians* matter not very much that growing power, because it keeps at a distance from them, and they have enough to do elsewhere.

With *Spain* the Republick never had nor hath at this day any real friendship; and whensoever there hath been any concurrence of their Councils and Forces, they were meerly forced to it by their interest and security: the truth is, as often as she could safely cross the *Spanish* designs she hath done it, as it hath appeared upon several occasions about the affairs of *Milan*, *Germany*, the *Low Countries*, but especially in the cases of the *Valteline*, and of *Sabionetta*, neither have they neglected in the Courts of other Princes any thing which might prejudice the *Spanish* interest; and indeed that enmity is mutual and reciprocal between them, because the *Venetians* having

having observed the great designs of that Crown to subdue *Italy*, ever fenced against it with the utmost of their power; and the more, because they being their next Neighbours by the way of *Milan*, they were exposed to her first attempts: On the other side, the *Spaniards* look't upon *Venice* as the Champion of the *Italian Liberty*, and the great let and hindrance in his way, as being judicious, and able to oppose him; neither can he forget that *Venice* hath dismembred from the Dukedom of *Milan*, and united to her State these three considerable places, *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and *Crema*, with their annexes and dependencies; and as they are as high, and as crafty as the *Spaniard*, so they would not suffer themselves to be led by the nose, or any ways, to promote his interest. No greater demonstration can be given of this disaffectedness then this is: The Republick hath kept correspondency and friendship with the Enemies of that Crown, especially with Protestant Princes and States, whose interest she knew it was to oppose the house of

Austria, and the *Spanish* Ministers at *Venice* have taken notice of it, and confessed this disaffectedness of the Republick to their Monarchy.

There are two things which do declare the good will, or the bad, of one Prince or State towards another; one is the words, and the other the effects: *Spaniards* do complain that the good words of the Republick to them, ever proved empty and fallacious, because the effects have not answered thereto: the same they say of the effects, because (say they) in all manner of negotiations either publick or private, upon their account, or that of the Arch Dukes of *Austria* and *Inspruck*, they ever met with great difficulties, even in those things which were easie, clear, and ought to have admitted none: But this hath been done with so much dexterity on the *Venetians* side, that as the heart of man is hard to be known, the *Spaniards* were satisfied, or seemed to be so of such dealings, and have been mistaken therein; but the Nature of the *Venetian*, well known to them upon other accounts, made them judge aright

aright of their proceedings. But this more is to be observed, that although the greatest part of the *Venetian* Noblemen be enemies to *Spain*, which hath proved to them so potent and so dangerous a Neighbour; yet as that Crown is very liberal in bestowing monies upon those, who to them may be usefull, so as to get their confidence and friendship: and as in such a number of Nobility there are enmities, discontents, and animosities (as in a great body, by reason of fulness of Stomack and surfeits, bad humours do abound, and so one member or other will suffer) because in the distribution of places and offices every one cannot have his desire, so in some there remains a disposition to make themselves amends another way, for that which (as they think) their merit and vertue have been unjustly deprived of, and to disturb others in the administration of what they have obtained to their prejudice; therefore they dare sometimes hearken to proposals from publick Ministers, and receive their gifts and pensions; I say, they dare, for they venture much, it being,

as I told before, as much as their life is worth ; but sometimes covetousness, discontent, ambition, and desire of revenge, make men hazzard all to satishie their passions, which an active, vigorous, and dexterous Minister will lay hold on to the advantage of his Masters affairs. Besides other means to preserve States, two chiefly are the props of them ; the one is strength ; and the other is Reputation : Strength is the ground, balis, and foundation of them : and Reputation hath so much authority in it self, that when Forces have been wanting, this hath not only upheld them, but also overcome greater Powers. Now to conclude this particular, I say, that the power of the *Spaniard* and his Neighbourhood to the *Venetians*, besides that of other Dominions of the House of *Austria*, and those who depend thereupon, will ever make the Republick look upon him as dangerous to her state and liberty.

This in time of peace is the right and true sence of the Republick in relation to the Princes and States I mentioned, for with the *Swedes*, *Danes*, and
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Polanders, she hath little to do, onely inasmuch as some of them had to deal against the house of *Austria*; and upon this account she hath been very glad to see *Portugal* withdrawn from under the *Spanish* Yoke: But now as change of condition, and the like accidents, oblige men to new resolutions and practises; so the demonstration of this, especially disaffectedness, hath been suspended since the beginning of the present War with the *Turk*; for the *Venetians* having their hands full that way, instead of disobliging, they must of necessity Court and please those from whom they may expect some succours: Upon this account they were so earnest in the late War between the *Pyrenean* Treaty, to mediate a peace between the two Crowns, thereby to receive some assistance from both, which would be a president to others, it being the common interest of all Christians to act against the *Turk*, and because they are the Bulwark of that part of *Christendome*: But this remote interest is not so strong as a neerer one, for *Christian* Princes have interests

contrary one to another, which oppose the carrying on of the great and publick one; for 'tis to be feared, if one Prince did send any considerable Forces against the Common Enemy, some of his Neighbours would take advantage of their absence, and so fall on him at home; after the sad experience of *Don Sebastian*, King of *Portugal*, of the Kingdome of *Navarre*, and of other instances which History relates, Princes have great reason ever to stand upon their guards. And this it is which exposes the *Christian* Cause to so many dangers, and that betrays, if I may so say, the *Venetians* to that dreadful Enemy.

But something is to be said of the Republicks inclination to the *Turk*; him she ever feared more then she loved, whom she was content in time of peace to pay a Tribute to for some Islands, as we said before, that she might be at rest, and not fall out with so potent an Enemy. But the *Gran Signior*, by the Advise of that notable States-man *Kupriuli* the *Gran Visier*, being resolved upon any account to be
rid

rid of many *Janisaries*, because of the frequent mutinings they were fallen into, which proved not only so pernicious to their Princes, but also so dangerous to the *Ottoman Empire*, providence favoured him with an occasion to execute his resolution, and withall, to enlarge his Dominions; for the Knights of *Maltha* having made some considerable price of persons dear to the *Turk*, he took this pretence to Arm; and though he threatned *Maltha*, yet the storm fell upon *Candia*, that Bulwark not only of *Venice*, but also of all *Italy*. Indeed the Republick was never more overseen in any thing then she was in this; for though they heard of the great preparation the *Turk* made, yet trusting to the peace they had with him at that time, they were surprized. The *Turks* landing in that Island, and taking *Canea*, it is thought, that in case the business had not succeeded, the *Sultan* had disowned the attempt, and made the Generals head fly off for a pretended satisfaction; but they got their ground and kept it: and as they had thought

upon, so it fell out; for though the design had miscarried, yet it could not without the loss of many *Janisaries*; if it succeeded, then a considerable conquest was made, which could not be without the loss of thousands of *Janisaries*; so that let the event be what it would, he would still have attained to one of his ends; but as it fell out, he had both, not only he got the place, but also lost 40000 *Janisaries* in the attempt, or a while after, and in time (unhappily for Christians) that excellent Island is wholly fallen into their barbarous hands, the City *Candia* only excepted, which for these two last years hath been so hardly put to it by the close siege they have laid against it; in the defence of which the *Venetians* have gotten a great deal of credit, and if it should happen to be lost, Christians would incur a great shame, having had a sufficient warning to relieve it.

'Tis a wonder indeed that the Republick hath holden out so long that place against the *Ottoman* Forces; the more, that the whole Kingdome of Cyprus

prus was lost in less then a years time; the reason of it may be, not only that diversion which the *Turks* have had elsewhere, and that extraordinary care the Republick hath taken to supply it from time to time with necessities, but chiefly her application and endeavours to keep the Mastery and Dominion of the Sea, without which she had received no benefit by the two former.

This consideration puts me upon an inquiry of the fittest and more suitable means of successfully carrying on the War against that common Enemy of *Christendome*; for certainly hitherto there have been mistakes upon that account, by reason of *Christians* standing only upon the defensive, and suffering their ground to be the only Soyle of War; for as in his preparations for such a war, he hath had the help of his whole Empire, so he hath the same to back him in the carrying of it on, instead that if diversions were made, Armies could in part be kept at the Enemies charges, and use or spoile those provisions which are conveyed

to his Camp, or to supply the wants of other places, or which make those whercin they grow to subsist; neither are people of the Countries where such diversions are made into, able to pay charges and taxes as before, and if they go about to exact it, they are apt to fall into mutinies, of which an enemy may draw some advantage. Now former and late experience shews us, how advantagious is this manner of war: Is War to be made against the *Romans*? then, saith *Hannibal*, *Italy* must be the seat of it; for thus, said he to *Antiochus*, we shall employ those means against them, which in other places they will make use of against us: Is *Hannibal* to be forced out of *Italy*? then *Scipio* must go with a *Roman* Army into *Africa*. In a word, when the *Romans* (who knew very well how to make war) had it with any one, they carried it home to them. Is not this here the way which the *French* and *Spaniard* have used one against another? and the *Swedes* understand it admirably well. Lately the King of *Denmark*, fell upon the Dukedom of *Bremen*,

men, to draw the King of Sweden out of Poland; and what doth he do? instead of going to defend Bremen, he marches in person into Holstein, Jutland, Denmark, and every one knows how well he sped. I do not deny but that the diversity of Countries, temper of Nations, and other circumstances, with some conjunctures, do require sometimes diversity of methods in such things; but I am perswaded that what I have already mentioned, might with success be used against the Turk.

And to make war against him in Hungary, is to take him where his strength lyes, for his stronger places and best Souldiers are in those parts; and thereby occasion is given him to make use of his best Militia's which are leavied in the Countries he hath taken from Christians, as Hungary, Wallachia, Moldavia, and now Transylvania, and he hath besides, all his Empire to back him.

Now methinks, to carry it on more effectually, he is to be fallen upon where he is weakest. I know, that to
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take it generally, that Empire hath already lost much of its strength (as I will shew by and by) almost all the Old *Janisaries* and *Spahies*, wherein consisted its great forces, have been destroyed in the *Persian*, *Hungarian* and *Candia* wars, according to the design of the forenamed *Gran Visier*; so that now they are forced to make use of raw Souldiers, and new Militia's, which indeed are not so mutinous as the others were, but withall, are not so courageous, so well disciplined, nor experienced: But that which I insist upon most of all, is, that he is not so strong by Sea as by Land, wanting good ships, but above all able Seamen, and experienced Sea-officers, that Empire having ever employed it self by Land more then by Sea, which they have minded onely out of necessity; so that the few skilful Seamen they have (if any at all) are *Renegadoes* of several *Christian* Nations. Now experience hath shewed us, that he is to be pursued by Sea more then by Land, because there he is the weakest, seeing we have seen the *Venetians* alone, or at least weakly assisted

sifted by the Knights of *Maltha*, &c. have of late very often obtained by Sea Glorious Victories over that Enemy.

But to make some overture of that which upon occasion might be more enlarged upon, I conceive it were well to get a matter of twenty five, or thirty good ships, carrying aboard a Land-Army, not under fifteen, nor above twenty thousand, to land them upon occasion in one place or other, and in case the first and second attempt should miss, yet according as the wind should prove, the Fleet might in twenty-four houses be fifty, eighty, or an hundred miles from that place; so that at last one place or other could be surprized, or at least it would keep the enemy every where in continual alarums, whereat they should have a constant diversion, and grow weary of being kept upon a constant duty, wherein also they could happen to be remiss and neglectful of. By these means the communication between their Islands in the *Arcipelago* should be interrupted, and also some of them whence they have

have their Gallies could be snatched out of their hands ; and this in time might have more general influences upon the the subjects, or rather slaves of that Empire, consisting of so many Nations , who are all breathing after liberty, whose desire after it would thereby increase, be encouraged and countenanced.

On the other side a considerable number of Gallies should constantly be cruising upon their Coasts, especially of *Morea*, to hinder the communication of their ports, and the gathering of any Ships or Gallies : But that which I account to be of the greatest concernment would be to stop the mouth of the *Dardanel*s, for thereby the City of *Constantinople*, being deprived of all manner of supplies which she receives from *Morea*, could be reduced to wants and straights ; Hence should arise Seditions and Mutinies in it, which to them would prove dangerous ; the more, that there are in it so many thousands slaves, who ever watch for an opportunity of cutting their Masters throats ; and all these disturbances

sturbances could mightily be increased if monies were given to the *Costacks* to come into the *Black Sea*, who though they be a perfidious, yet they are a mercenary people, and a sudden irruption of theirs could strike a great terrour into that City (for of all Enemies, these she is the most afraid of) which might afford a fair opportunity to *Christians* to attempt some considerable thing on this side.

And I do not think that any great difficulties could hinder the execution of this design: I know that every great undertaking, especially in matters of war, is subject to lets and hinderances; which either have been foreseen, and so men have prepared against it, or else such as fell out when they were not lookt for, which must not be very important, seeing they escaped the foresight of men judicious and experienced in their wayes, who at least have some general remedies applyable to particular accidents: But this I think is feasible and easie, considering the importance of it, for here is proposed nothing besides the Land Army, but that

that which the *Venetians* alone, or with small assistance, have already done, namely, cruising of the Seas, and stopping the mouth of the *Dardanel*s, as I mentioned in the beginning of this Discourse : So that if to the *Venetian* Armata were joyned the *Italian* Gallies, namely, the five of the Pope, the seven of *Maltha*, the eight of *Genoa*, besides those of particular men in it, the four of the Gran Duke, or at least the two which are fit for service, and those of *Naples*, *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, with several privateers, which would be set forth, with half of the *French* and *Spanish* Gallies, the other half being not only sufficient to secure their Coasts, but also to scour those of *Barbary*, and they could order their ships which they keep constantly, to go where there should be occasion for them ; all these joyned together in case of a fight, could form a formidable Fleet, and able to carry on the designe before expressed ; but else every one, or two of these Squadrons at the most, could have their post together, and course appointed them to prevent divisions.

visions which might arise from the antipathy of some Nations, or of some other interest of State, yet so within a distance, as they might soon be together upon occasion; and as all these Forces do belong to Catholick Princes, so they would without dispute give the Pope's Flags the precedency, and obey a General of High Merit and Quality, chosen by common consent. As to the men of War, they should be half *English*, and half *Dutch*, with at least ten thousand men of both Nations, of the fifteen or twenty thousand, the rest might be in part *Germans*, *French*, *Spanish*, *Portuguzes*, and others better used to those Climates; or moneys instead of men, and some satisfaction in the same to *England* and *Holland*, by reason of their great proportions.

And in all these nothing would be extraordinary besides the Land Army, for all these Princes and States keep constantly Gallies and Ships for the security of their Coasts and Trade; so that this were no more charges to them, then every year they are at;
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and certainly whilst they keep them in pay, it were as well to put them upon some honourable and advantageous service, as to let them be idle at Sea all Summer long. Furthermore, the Prizes which they could make, might contribute much towards the entertaining of these Forces; and the Conquests, if any were made, could somewhat help towards the defraying of the war: so that it would be an easie, and not chargeable enterprize, to get together the Gallies which Princes and States do keep in pay, and joyn-
ing the *English* and *Dutch* Squadrons, which both Nations do send every year into the Straits; for whose wintering, if occasion required, provision might be made there. This indeed were noble and christian prudenc, and I doubt not might prove very beneficial.

Such a thing, if carried on could give a great pull to the *Turkish* Empire; what place could not such a Land Army attempt, or rather take; and such a Fleet of brave *English* and *Dutch* ships exploit? I verily believe, that
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this being carried on in a private way, that is, by a man of Note entring into the Service of the Republick, with a matter of twelve or fifteen good men of war, and five or six hundred men aboard, could yet produce brave effects; for alas ! what I say is not out of any hopes that such a thing will take any effect, contrariwise I am perswaded it will not, for Princes do seldom approve of those Councils which themselves are not the Authors of; it is an easie thing to shew what could or ought to be done, all the difficulty lies in perswading to do : But in this I am like one who is much taken with a pleasant dream, and if this be one, I like it so well, that to humour myself, I will make it last a little longer.

Yet I think it is but realities, if to encourage Christians, I shew the grounds and causes of the decay of the *Turkish Empire and Power* : The ground of my Discourse shall be wholly upon this known and experienced maxime, *As States and Dominions have been gotten, so they must be kept,*
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whether it be done by Force, Fraud, or fair and plausible means : And the same means which reason hath introduced, successes approved of, and experience confirmed, ought to be used in the settlement and preservation of of what hath been gotten ; a Prince must certainly make use of the wayes whereby he hath increased, enlarged, and settled his Empire, as the fittest and most proper to preserve it, they being the basis and foundation of it.

Now it will not be hard for me to shew, that of late the *Ottomans* have not followed this maxime, and consequently, that this is the cause of the present decay of their Empire : First, their Predecessours and great Conquerours went ever in the head of their Army : Thus they kept their Great Ministers and Officers in subjection, and united, which otherwise out of envy, ambition and Covetousness, had fallen out amongst themselves; thereby the Army was kept upon duty, and in obedience, and the *Fanisaries* to the observation of their Discipline : Furthermore, the eye of a Prince, who is

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present, not only to see, but also afterwards to reward merit and valour, is a great encouragement to Souldiers, who seeing him according to his proportion to share in the hardships and dangers of war, do conceive a high esteem, love and respect for him. This must be the way of Conquerours (for the reason is different about those Princes who are settled in their Dominions, and who mind no more but to preserve themselves, and stand onely upon the defensive) as was practised by *Cyrus*, *Alexander the Great*, *Pompeius*, *Cæsar*, &c. and of late by *Charles the eight*, *Francis the first*, and *Henry the fourth*, Kings of France; and by the two late Kings of Sweden, *Gustavus Adolphus*, and *Charles Gustavus*, who with their presence inspired life, courage and valour into their Armies: By these means also the *Mahomets*, *Bajazets*, *Solyman*, and others, did so much enlarge their *Turkish* Empire; but their successors, who would make war by proxy, found the inconveniencies of it.

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For when the *Gran Sultan* marched into the field, they were followed by the best, and the strength of their Subjects : to understand this, one must know that their person was attended by twelve thousand *Janisaries*, all choice, valiant and experienced men, who were exactly and duly paid once a month, and made a very formidable body in the field ; but now not onely many must remain with the Princes person, whose help their Armies are deprived of, but also they have increased their number with men not qualified for the place as others were ; and that which is the worst, they have diminished their pay ; besides which, they had every one a Bow, two shirts, and a Sute of Cloathes given them every year, which now and then they are cheated of ; out of the best of these two hundred are chosen to go by the Princes person, and three hundred more about his Lodgings or Tents when he is in the field.

Besides these foot, three thousand *Spahies* or Horsemen are to march on the *Sultans* right hand, and other three

three thousand on the left, all select men ; every one of the former is to be attended by five servants a horseback able and fighting men, and the left are to keep four, or at least three every one, and they are divided into two bodies, every one of which follow their Masters. These are followed of two other Squadrons of a thousand horse, the one doth consist of men of low degree and condition, who by some exploit of theirs have been taken notice of, and raised to that degree ; the other composed only of natural *Turks*, who are singularly skill'd in some particular thing, as may be, the handling of a Symeter, Lance, Dart, Horsemanship, or the like, and they are obliged to keep every one two servants: Besides this, the servants of the great Officers, as Treasurers, Judges, Counsellours, Bathaws, &c. are to follow the Court, some of whom have at least two or three thousand, which in all cannot amount to less then twenty thousand, and several others there are who attend the Court : Now when the *Sultan* doth not go into the field, these
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people lye at home, and do no Service in the present war. To this I may add, that when the Prince goes himself to the War, he gets experience in military affairs, and so doth not take things upon trust; he takes notice of his advantages, and of the defects of his Souldiers, which he applies timely remedies unto, and prevents mutinies, which they are apt to fall into under the command of men, who sometimes are of no credit in the Armies: and his being constantly amongst Souldiers, raises his heart and spirit to a high and martial temper, which afterwards put him upon great designs: Furthermore, the Forces he keeps at home fall into idleness, thence into vices, and so grow stubborn and Effeminate.

Another important maxime of the *Ottoman* Empire hath been constantly to be at War, thereby to keep Souldiers in Exercise; but withall, to make a short War with those against whom they fell out; So usually the end of a War hath been with them the beginning of another, they fell suddenly,
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and like a storm upon a Country, and when they had seized upon all what they could for the time, seeing those parts and their Neighbours began to put themselves in a considerable posture of defence, they presently clapt up a peace, to settle in their new Conquests, and to fall upon some others who thought them deeply engaged in the present War; so well they have observed that maxime, which saith, *If a Prince hath three Enemies, he must be sure to make peace with one, truce with another, but fall with his whole Power upon the third*: Yet of late they have not followed this Rule, whence to them are befallen these two great inconveniencies; the one is, that waging a long War with a Nation, necessity and a constant exercise have made their Enemies to be good Warriors, and so the better able to oppose them; the other is, that in these long Wars they have lost the best and stoutest of their Souldiers by their too much forwardness, as we have seen by experience in the *Persian, Hungarian and Candia Wars*, as I already

observed : In few words, I say, that the decay of the *Turkish* Empire is caused by their Princes staying at home, by their engaging in long Wars, and having given time as well as occasion to their Neighbours to train up themselves to War; and by two other things, which are their destroying the Lands of their Conquests, for the ground being not manured could not produce necessaries for the people of the Country, and Towns being sack't and burned, were depriv'd of inhabitants, where-by Trade was wholly destroyed : The other is, that at last they fell a raising of fortifications, out of a distrust of the affection or valour of people, and so left in them strong Garrisons, which not only made them weaker in the field, but these, like *Hannibal's* soldiers, lost their hearts in the midst of their pleasures ; and every Town like another *Capua ex Gallis fecit Capones*, as one used to say, and now their Armies of 200000 men, are reduced to 30 or 60000, and their Fleets mightily decreased in number and power.

Difficulties dissuade men from taking

king resolutions; and if they be taken, they stop and hinder the executions; but one of the greatest (to wit the strength of the *Turk*) being removed, I think this motion might be carryed on successfully: Indeed the greatest of all is, how to unite Princes, and perswade them to concur in this work; for their private interests are so different, and their affections so contrary, that it is a very difficult, if not an impossible task to make them agree to it; the reason is, that some would have the great and publick interest to be subservient to their particular ends; for as to the main, it will ever be found to be the right interest of every Prince and Christian State, to oppose the Common Enemy, though I know it to be of some more neerly and immediately than of others; yet at last the one, as the other, may happen to be involved, not in the danger, but the hurt it self. May be in the late dreadful fire in *London*, such as were in one part of the City, when the fire was but in another part remote from that, did say, What's that to us? yet at last they suf-

fered by it ; so those who at present seem to be the furthest from the blows, may in time be sensible, at the overflowings of the Turkish power ; and this should make all jealousies and animosities give place to the care of every ones security. 'Tis indeed a lamentable thing to see how often these Divisions have given the Turk occasion of enlarging his Empire, and how Christians have thereby lost occasions of repelling him back again ; for certain they were the cause why no improvement was made of the victory of *Lepanto* ; for it was not enough to have stopt the violence of that torrent, but also *Cyprus*, which was the occasion of the Leaguer, ought to have been snatched back from his hands, but the *Spaniards* thought fit to have it otherwise.

What shall I say of the late betraying, or if they please, forsaking of *Ragotzki*, Prince of *Transylvania*, a fair opportunity was offered to give a great blow to the *Turks*, when the Princes of *Wallachia* and *Moldavia* were up to shake off his yoke ; at the same time *Ragotzkie* was up with a considerable
Army,

Army, which being united to the Forces of those two Princes, and backed with a considerable supply from the Emperour, might happened to have freed all those Countries from the *Ottoman* dominion. The *Transylvanian* asked some assistance, but was refused, why? he was a Protestant, and the Jesuitical Council given to the Emperour, desired his destruction, in hopes that the Country should be forced to put her self into their hands for protection, but were disappointed; for the Turk not only settled his authority in *Wallachia* and *Moldavia*, but also got *Waradin*, and subjected *Transylvania*, and quickly after came into *Hungary*, and got *Newhausel*, which he could not have effected if he had not been kept at play in *Transylvania*: So the *Venetians*, for all they can say, must be blamed by what experience teaches them now, for their not joyning more nearly with the Emperour in the late *Hungarian* War, and not making a strong diversion towards *Candia* and the *Archipelago*: But men matter not much how heavy the burthen falls upon others, if

themselves do not lye under it. I do not say this to excuse the Emperour for making peace after so glorious a victory obtained at the *Raah*, and not including the *Venetians* in't, or not so much as communicating it to them, or to any other concerned States, neither for not assisting them now ; for both the Emperour and the *Venetians* may easily see their fault, and how the Turk makes fools of both, for he hath no sooner done with one, but he begins with another. Therefore this should open the eyes of Christian Princes, so as to make them unanimously oppose, before it be too late, that enemy of the Christian name.

But before I leave this Subject, I must in few words answer the particular and, I think, the chief Objection of *England* and *Holland*; who drive a great Trade in *Turky*: Some will say, *if any way we do assist the Venetians, then all our Trade in the Levant is spoiled.* But I say, though such a help as we mentioned before, be of great concernment to the *Venetians*, yet it is not considerable to *England*; and I believe
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The Turk is wise enough to give no such provocations, as to draw thence a greater power and stronger Fleets against himself; besides that, I believe that Christians do much mistake him in this, for he is well acquainted with his interest, and he knows how beneficial Trading is to his Country, without which he could not gather so much moneyes as he doth; so that he would be as loth to break off trading with *England*, as *England* is to break with him; and he would be found as ready to renew it with others, as others would be to renew it with him, if once he were driven upon his own ground, for he is as much concerned. Furthermore, as it is certain, that in *England* in *Q. Elizabeths* dayes *Spanish* wares were as cheap for all the War as in time of peace; so it may be by the Turkish Commodities, by reason of the prizes which could be made of them; and certainly if Merchants would but be honest and content with a reasonable gain, things would be as cheap as before, for the Turkish Subjects must sell openly or underhand; and as there

would be no open Markets, they would part with their Wares at low rates, rather then not to sell them at all & ever to have them upon their hands: And let this be spoken as to *Holland* also. One thing, I confesse, were fit for *England* to observe, namely, That the *Dutch* should contribute the same help against the Turk, to be in the same Category at the *Divan*, to the end they should not have a free Trade in the *Levant*, whilst the *English* were forbidden it.

One thing more I must say as to *England* and *Holland*, which are so remote from the *Turkish* Dominions, and from those Parts which should be the seat of War: I confesse, that to avoyd breaking with the Turk, 'twere better and more convenient to carry on the design, if some gallant and experienced men would, with the leave or winking at of both States, enter into the Service of the Reipublick, and mind only that same thing. However, the case being as I stated it from the beginning, and some Princes and States of those Parts contributing to the payment of part of the

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the Forces, could easily upon occasion afford them good and convenient harbours, with all necessary accommodation for winter quarters in so plentiful a Country: Or else, suppose it were but to try for one Summer, they should go betime, and carry provisions for several months. But I must engage no further upon this Discourse, my whole design being onely to make such a motion, which being thought upon by wise and concerned persons, might be brought to some maturity, reduced to a good form, and in all the circumstances thereof laid in such a way, as might best of all sute the importance of the matter, and become the wisdom of the undertakers.

By what I say of the great interest of all Christians against the Common Enemy, I do not intend by any means to prejudice another great concern between Christians themselves, and that is the Protestant interest, which is grounded not onely upon differences about Religion, but also upon reason of State; for alas! as the world goes now men are not much acted with

principles of Religion, except there be with it one thing or other of temporal concernment. Policy is the great mobile of the actions of States-men ; but if Religion be brought in, 'tis more the name then the power of it, and according to the rule of *Machiavel*, as a shew and a pretence only : Therefore I say, that Protestant Princes and States are not to neglect the Protestant Cause, in the defence of which lyes the safety of their persons, and preservation of their States and Authority ; for as ever it is the Popes interest, so his constant endeavours, are either to bring again into his Church all those who make profession of the Protestant Religion, or else to destroy them. And as it is natural for a man to wish that every one would be of his Religion ; So he is countenanced and assisted by those Princes who are of his perswasion, wherein the house of *Austria* hath been so forward, that ('tis believed) thereby she hath brought upon her self the heavy hand of God, which at present hath so much humbled her.

I further assert another truth, that the Pope is more dangerous to Protestants than the Turk; *First*, by reason of the distance of places; for Providence hath so seated the States of the Protestants, that, excepted *Transylvania* and *Hungary*, which yet belongs in part to a Roman Catholick Prince, he cannot come nigh to them: but the Pope and his upholders are close by, and so the more formidable, because in some sense he is a domestick enemy, who ever is at work how to bring out some occasion, which when he seeth he soon layes hold on't; which advantage the Turk is deprived of, for though an opportunity was offered to him, it would be lost before he were ready to make use of it. *Secondly*, The Turk comes in by meer force and violence, which his Neighbours being warned of, do provide against with the utmost of their Power; but the Pope hath his *Devices* and his *Depths*, whereby he plots and contrives designs destructive to others; he hath his Thunderbolts of Excommunication (which Protestants, and at present some other States laugh at.)

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He takes upon him to dispense Subjects from the obedience they owe to their Sovereigns, and an absolute Authority in every Ecclesiastical affair, and over all Ecclesiastical persons in the Dominions of others (a thing so unjust, that some States of his persuasion, especially *France* and *Venice*, have denied it to him.) He attributes to himself an unquestionable authority over Consciences, of binding and loosing all spiritual things, under which name of spirituals, all moral things may directly or indirectly be reduced ; so that thereby he must take from Princes in their own Dominions, the Sword of Justice, and punish Adulterers, Thieves, Murderers, and all crimes expressed or implied in the Decalogue , or Ten Commandments: And what else is this but to divest Princes of the Authority they ought to have within their own Dominions, and to pull down their Tribunals and Seats of Justice, to set up his own upon their ruins. From this let every one judg how much all Princes are concerned to oppose this pretended and usurped Authority, so destructive

fructive of their own. Besides all this he takes upon himself to dispense with divine Precepts, and yet he absolutely commands the observation of his own under pain (as he saith) of eternal damnation : And when all these things cannot serve, he hath *Ravailleurs*, and such Emissaries who have vowed a blind obedience to his orders ; so that *St. Pauls* Sword doth cut what *St. Peters* Keyes cannot open. But the Turk hath none of these helps.

Moreover, The Turk is acted only by a principle of ambition, but the Pope acts out of a desire of revenge : The Turk pretends no right upon others, but that which the Sword gives him ; but the Pope pretends a divine and spiritual right made over to him by Christ, and so looks upon all Protestants as rebels to him, because they are withdrawn from his obedience, and consequently he is the more bitter enemy to them; and wheresoever he could reach any of them, he made the Sword, the Fire, the Gibbet, and Prison, instruments of his vengeance : So that when a hundred thousand have had
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their throats cut in one night at *Rome*, there hath been for it publick and extraordinary expressions of joy. *Fourthly*, The Turk hath no Inquisition within his States; contrariwise, by the means of an yearly Tribute, he allows Protestants that liberty of Conscience which is denyed them by some Princes of the Roman perswasion; and this very thing hath strengthened his interest in *Hungary*, where whole Towns have somtimes submitted to his yoke: so that in this the Popes and Turk's interests are contrary, for the former will admit of no such tolleration, and consequently by reason of his interest, is more dangerous to Protestants then the other.

Yet for all this, I do no wayes derogate from what I said before of the common interest of all Christians against the Turk, provided the Protestant can be secured, which can be done no better, then by uniting the whole body under one head, settling between all the Members a good correspondency, grounded upon their common interest and safety, having them all knitted
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in affection, and as much as may be in judgment, and concerning themselves in the affairs one of another, being tender hearted and charitable to those members who are persecuted for Religion sake, assisting each other, and by no means suffering one Prince or State of the same profession to be oppressed upon any pretences whatsoever; and they must watch and oppose the designs of those who are able and likely to carry on the *Roman* Interest, out of the discovery which may be made of their Councils: and in all these things Protestants ought to carry themselves unanimously and with vigour.

After this, there is no danger for the chief amongst them, and those who are able and can conveniently assist the *Venetians*, to do it, the question being not to assist the Pope, but a Republick, which hath had several fallings out with the See of *Rome* about priviledges and jurisdiction, and which is moderate in the point of *Inquisition*; besides that this is a matter of State, and not of Religion; and if the Pope were in the same condition as *Venice*, he might be assisted,

assisted, *Salva Conscientia*, by Protestant Princes, just as are the outworks of a Town by those who are in the Town, who have reason to concern themselves in their preservation, for it once they be taken the Enemy will draw nearer to the City, and make use of them against it; so that when any Christian Prince doth repel the violence offered to another, he doth nothing else but meet with that which is preparing against him; he hastens to quench the fire which is in his neighbours house, for fear it should come into his own; and gives his helping hand to make Sconces, Dams, and other oppositions to the Sea, which having once drowned his Neighbours Country, would quickly over-flow his own. In a word, diversity of Religion, in this case is not a sufficient ground to hinder the *Venetians* from being assisted by those who make profession of another, seeing such a succour is to be employed against that Tyrant who hath usurped so many members of the Christian Empire, and who by his Religion is bound by a perpetual vow to destroy *Christian*

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Religion, and all the professors of it.

To this I add, that if the whole Island of *Candia* was once lost, whole *Christendome* would feel the inconveniencies of it, even those parts which are the most remote; for their Trade should suffer much by it, because there could be no passing by the *Arcipelago*, without being exposed to the mercy of the *Turks*, and of the Rowers of *Barbary*; and as the passage is very dangerous between those Islands, who knows what Tolls might be laid upon the Shipping that go by, which should be forced to submit to it, rather than to run danger of Shipwreck: but nearer countries would be more sensible of it, for *Candia* which is the bullwark of *Christendome* in those parts being once taken, *Zant*, *Corfu* and *Cefalonia* could not hold out, and so nothing could hinder the *Turk* from falling upon the Kingdome of *Naples*, and the Islands of *Sicily* and *Sardigna*, then the Sea-coasts of the Popes Dominions shall lye open both towards the *Gulf* and the *Mediterranean*;

diterranean; so shall the Gran Dukes, and the *Genoeses* Dominions, especially the Island *Corfica*; so that as *Italy* is the nearest and the most concerned Country, it is to be admired, that the Princes of it do not bestir themselves more then they do, to be a president, and give good example to those who are further off, who think it not fit for them to awake, whil'st those who lye nearer to the danger are asleep.

But before I make an end of this, it will not be amiss, if I endeavour to satisfie the curiosity which some may have to know the present condition of the Republick; I do not mean their War-like posture; for the number of their Ships, Gallies, Galleasses, and other sort of Shipping, is known to be very great; so are their Land, but especially the Sea Forces: but I mean how they are at home, whether hearty or dejected, rich or poor. I answer to the first, That there is no Republick, nor any other State in the World, which hath had, and still doth retain so much of the Ancient

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Roman Courage, Patience and Constancy, which Vertues have been put to hard tryals in their Wars with *Genoa*, with *Maximilian* the Emperour, when all was lost, except *Venice*, *Padua* and *Trevigi*, and of late in the Wars with the *Turk*; yet for all this, they bear it out, and are so undaunted, as to refuse to condescend to any Conditions dishonourable, or very disadvantageous to the Republick. As for their Riches, the publick Treasure must necessarily be exhausted; for what State in *Europe* could without a considerable diminution, carry on a War against so formidable an Enemy for about twenty five years time? I will grant, it is in part of their monies laid out, as of the circular blood which comes again to the heart, and to the centre; and though most of their provisions be bought in their own Country, yet Trade by Sea being interrupted, and Taxes much raised and multiplyed, the people who bears the greatest burthen of them must needs be disenabled to pay, and consequently, the whole Republick

lick, seeing the people ever makes the greatest part of it, and that Tradesmen and Work-men are they who labour and get moneys for great and rich men, so that they fill the purse: I account therefore that State to be rich, where all, or at least the generality of the Subjects are so; now indeed money is stirring, but the Nobles and great Officers have the Chief benefit of it, though indeed every one must need have a share in it, so many men being employed upon several things, but Taxes take it away again; so that the Subject is poor, and the publick Treasure empty; for the Trade by Land, and the plenty of their States makes them hold out: but considering the present occasions afford nothing to be laid up. Upon such occasion as this, War affords gain to one great man or other, but deprives thousands of their due. That General *Foscato* who hath been so much talked of, left, a report goes, above two Millions of Duckets in his Coffers, which he had gotten in few months time, but his Army was much the worse for it: Therefore

Therefore I conclude, that this long and chargeable War which the Republick hath against the *Turk*, hath much wasted her Treasure; and were it not for the loanes of particular men, she had been disenabled to hold out any longer; therefore she stands in need of assistance from other Princes and States, in monies, as well as in men: and thereby many have been impoverished, and some few made rich; so others are thereby grown better Soldiers and States-men, having gotten a great experience in martial and politick affairs.

And for the corruptions of particular men, as I mentioned before, all are so fully convinced that their particular safety lyes in that of the Republick, that they are unanimous in the defence of it; besides that Laws there are so severe to Delinquents against the State, that hardly any man dares to be wanting to his duty upon important occasions; so that although some of their Noblemen grow rich upon the account of the present *Turkish* War, and they are glad it doth last, yet they dare
not

not commit any base action, though it were upon no other ground, but for fear of a sure and severe punishment : yet I am perswaded that many of them act out of better principles than this, for although *Venetians* have defects and vices common to all other Nations, yet they have some vertues particular to themselves, amongst which gravity and settledness of mind (which *Nepolitans* and many of *Lombardy* are deprived of) are none of the least.

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An Account of the War in
CANDIA.

But because the War of *Candia* is at present the greatest concern of the Republick, men will expect to hear some particulars of it; and herein I am willing in part to gratifie their curiosity, yet I do not intend to go back again so many years, and speak of this War from the beginning of it, which proved so fatal to the *Venetians*, and imported no less then the loss of a considerable Kingdome, which the several Victories obtained since by Sea cannot make amends for: This would be too long a task, therefore I will look no further back then these two last years, or thereabouts, and as it were the renewing of the War.

The Turk immediately after the great loss he had suffered at the River *Raab* in *Hungary*, having concluded a peace with the Emperour (who thereby deprived himself of the fruits of so notable a Victory, and of the advantage he might have received from the auxiliary

liary Forces he had out of *Germany* and other Countries, and who thereby gave his Enemies Army time to breath after so great a blow, and to settle in his new Conquests) he turned his thoughts towards *Candia*, knowing full well the importance of that Island for his designs against those parts of Christendome; therefore to alter the Scene, and make the *Venetians* look to themselves, who, though they seemed at that time to be at a stand, had blocked up *Canea* by Sea, and hindered supplies of men and provision from going into't, thereby to bring so troublesome a Neighbour to some straits, he resolv'd to attempt the City of *Candia*, and to reduce the Republick only to the defensive: And because the Gran Visier had been more fortunate in taking of places, then in the Field, he would try whether *Candia* would run the Fate of *Newbausel*: To this effect he is sent oyer with an Army of about fourscore thousand men, with all necessary preparations for their design.

At first he endcavoured to carry it by several desperate assaults he made
against

against it, being put upon it, in part to draw some benefit from the courage and strength of his Souldiers, who then were fresh, and also out of hopes that the *Venetians* might happen not to be prepared against that sudden storm; but they who were surprized the first time that this Island was attempted, had learned at their own cost to be ready against a second assault; and therefore with much courage and resolution they repulsed and beat off the *Ottoman* Forces. Whereupon the Gran Visier betook himself to new Counsels, and resolved upon a formal Siege, seeing his other way had not proved successful; and thereupon writ to his Master for new supplies, giving him hopes of a good success, and that in time he would be able to give him a good account of the place: so that there he sits down before it, and so is engaged to conquer or to dye, his head being to answer for the success of his undertaking.

The Republick being more then awaked at this (yet glad to see the

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first brunt over) according to her usual care and diligence, prepares at home to oppose that numerous enemy, and sends continual supplies of men, moneys, ammunition and provision to the besieged, with promises of more timely to be sent to them, which to effect the more easily, they make themselves strong by Sea, and resolved to keep the Mastery of it. On the other side, they sent to most Princes of *Europe*, to represent the common danger, and the urgent necessities of the Republick: In consideration of which they desired some assistance, as they had asked before, and obtained it, viz. 5000 men from the *French* commanded by one Prince of the Family of *Modena*, and from some other Princes, even particular men having contributed to it, as *Mazarini* 100000 Crowns, Cardinal *Francesco Barbarini* set out a Galley at his own charges, and some others had done the like, which had been discontinued, because the War in *Hungary* against the Emperour, had taken the edge of

of

off from that of *Candia*; but the *Turks* as I said, falling to it again, the Republick desires new supplies almost every where, which she obtained from severall Parts.

But because she knew the importance of a brave and experienced Commander, to make him General in the besieged City, she sent to ask of the Duke of *Savoy* the General of his Forces, the Marquis *Villa*, who was granted with a considerable supply of men; he went to *Venice*, and thence with all convenient speed he shipt away for *Candia*, where he puts every thing in a good order and posture of defence, and upon all occasions repulses the enemy with loss, from the places he attempted. On the other side the *Turk* finds it a great difficulty to send any recruits to the Visier; for not only many of the Janizaries and other Souldiers, either run away from their Colours, or else fall into a mutiny, refusing to be shipt for *Candia*, which they look upon as their grave, suspecting still that the *Divan* continu-

ed in the former design to destroy them ; and those others who were shipt either by force, or by the means of fair promises, were several times intercepted by the *Venetians*, who were cruising up and down the coasts of *Morea*, and those of *Candia*, and so towards those Islands of the *Arcipelago*, whence the Visier might probably expect any relief. So that by these means the Turks Army was brought to great straits ; and at the same time God did fight against them from Heaven, sending his arrows of the Plague and diseases amongst them, so that thereby the Army being much lessened and disheartened, many went from their Colours, and did much complain, if not mutiny, and the Rains falling thereupon, forced the Visier to withdraw further off from the City, giving thereby time of refreshment to his Army, and to the besieged also ; who immediately after fell a repairing of those Fortifications which had been endamaged by the Turks in this *Campaigna* ;

na : The *Turks* lost abundance of men, their Army being reduced, as was thought, to 20000 at the most : The *Venetians* also lost several Soldiers, and some few men of note, and gallant Officers.

In the Winter the Sultan was solicitous to assist the Viceroy against Spring ; so were the *Venetians* of sending new supplies to the besieged. Some thousands passed from *Morèa* to the Camp ; *Candia* also received some ; but withall, those which the *Venetians* received from the Emperour, and from the Crown of *Spain*, by the way of *Naples* and *Sicily*, were stopt by reason of the war which broke forth in *Flanders* : And several other Princes and States began somewhat to give over the thoughts of *Candia*, to look another way ; but the *Venetians* went on vigorously, for though the enemies were come again before the City, yet still keeping Masters of the Sea, they put into the City all manner of necessary supplies, whereby the besieged were enabled to hold out, and resist the furi-

ous assaults of the *Turks* now 'gainst one place, and then against another, it being known that no Nation falls on with more fury then the *Turks*, being overperswaded by the opinion they have of predestination, I mean as to their life, which is mixt with a great errour, to wit, of separating the means from the end. But this matter I must speak no more of, to say, that the Duke of *Savoy*, by reason of a design he seemed to have against *Geneva* and them, concerning himself in the War between *France* and *Spain*, though the time was not come for him openly to declare it, he called home the Marquis *Villa* from the *Venetian* Service to give him again the General Command of his Forces. The Republick desired he might have leave to stay longer; the Pope himself joyned his solicitations to theirs; but the Duke would not revoke his Order, only allowed him time to leave things in the best posture he could possibly do, which he did, and to come home from *Venice* to give an account of the place; but before, he exploited many brave things,

things, not only repulſing couragiously the *Turks* when they came to ſtorm any Fort, but alſo by making luſty Sal-lyes upon them, and upon occaſion by ſpringing Mines under them, and blowing them up, whereby thouſands of them were deſtroyed at ſeveral times.

Now are the *Venetians* put again to 't, to get a man of credit and experience to be General in *Candia*. And ſince I brought it again to the purpoſe, I muſt not omit to ſay, that ſew years before, they had ſought after an *Engliſh* man, a perſon of great worth, courage and experience, to enter into their ſervice, who willingly embraced ſuch a motion, and had done it in a way as glorious and honourable as can be the Government of *Candia*, though of a different nature, had not ſome thing fallen out by the way: And the merit of this ſame perſon was ſo well known, and ſo eſteemed abroad, that he received the ſame offers and invitations from the Emperour, as they were made known to him by a great Prince of the

Empire : But this, as the other, took no effect. This passage I would not omit, it tending to the honour of the English Nation, that the Republick should look so for and choose one of the Nation to carry on a design so glorious as that which they had then in hand, and that the Emperour should overlook *Germany*, a warlike Nation, to find in *England* a person fit for his purpose; and let this also be spoken to the honour of that person.

I return now to the *Venetians* where I left them, that is, looking for a man fit to succeed the Marquis *Villa* in his Command in *Candia*; they find him in *France* a person indeed well qualified for such an employment, but somewhat aged; he is of the protestant Religion, of a very noble Family in the Province of *Dauphind*, who ever produced men very zealous for the interest of their Religion, upon whose account some have lost their lives; the name of the Family is *Menbrun*, the Eldest whereof is a Marquess, and they have been so long

long agoe. Now this *St. André Monbrun* hath been Lieutenant General of the French Armies in *Italy*, he harkened after the propofals made to him by the Republick, and begins a Treaty with her by the leave and consent of his King, which being concluded he marches towards *Venice*, to go thence and take poffeffion of his Charge.

In the mean while *Alexander* the Seventh being dead, and the present being chosen and fettled, the *Venetians* receive much encouragement from him, not only affifting them himfelf, but alfo folliciting others to do the like. In the mean time the befieged in *Candia* have much adoe to defend themfelves from the reiterated Affaults of their Enemies, who having received fome fresh fupplies of men, though not very confiderable, and being encouraged by the promifes of more, and put on by the obftinate Refolution of the Grand Vifir, who fees his Head lying at the ftake, and his life or death depending upon the good or bad fuccefs of the Siege, they tell a ftorming of the

place twenty-five and thirty thousand at a time, and neglect no other wayes that could promote the design: wherefore having observed the great difficulty they met withall, caused chiefly because the besieged could at any time receive new supplies, the Harbour being free and open, they were contriving of a way to raise a Battery, which should command the coming into the Port; and in this they were favoured by the directions they had from a Fugitive, so that it took effect for the present, insomuch that no Ships could come in without a great danger; and then indeed people began to fear very much for the City; yet the *Venetian Armata* being come that way, some Sallyes being made, and Counter-Batteries raised, the Harbour was again free and open: Yet the designs of the Enemy do still lye that way, and their most frequent and furious assaults have ever been against the Forts which are towards those Parts of the City, as are that of *Mocenigo*, and *Panigra*, but especially *St. Andre* and *Sabionera*.

These

These continual Assaults given often once a Week, and sometimes two or three dayes one after another, and this for many hours without interruption, could not but extraordinarily tire those within the City, and lessen their number; and indeed, had it not been for the good Examples and Orders they have from several good Officers that are amongst them, and the great care the Republick hath taken to supply them from time to time, they could not in probability have held out so long. 'Tis true that their Gunners, and most belonging to the Artillery, understand it admirably well; and from them in *Candia* and at Sea the Republick receives great service: But for all this, which indeed are realities, they were fed with hopes, and flattered with promises of considerable succours, which indeed were preparing for them, but alas, not with the success which was expected from them, for usually there hath been an unhappy misunderstanding between the Auxiliaries and the Republicks Ships, or amongst them.

themselves ; The Gallies of *Malta* and those of *Geneva* must not meet there, or else they will fall out about certain differences that are between them ; and even the last Summer those of *Malta* took exceptions, and came away, because they would not be obliged to salute the *Capitana* or Admiral Galley of *Venice* ; and at the same time the Gallies of the Pope, and those of *Naples* and *Sicily*, which, after the Peace was concluded between *France* and *Spain* the Pope had obtained, should be sent to assist the *Venetian*, went as it seems only to see *Candia*, but not to fight, for they came soon away and before they were expected home ; so that *Vicenzo Rospigliosi* hath nothing to brag of against *Prior Bichi*.

And upon this account the *Venetians* were indeed hard put to it in *Candia*, inasmuch that the *Generalissimo* was forced to disarm some of his Gallies first, and then a Gallies, and send the Souldiers and Rowers to fight in the defence of the City ; which op-

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portunity the Turk did not let slip away, but he sent his Army out of *Morea* several supplies of Men and Ammunition, which landed all safely and without any interruption, because at that time the *Venetian* Armata could not keep at Sea, and at the same time fight within the City: Then were their courage and valour put to a hard tryal, as indeed many did in an extraordinary manner, some of which lost their lives in the Field of honour, and others out-lived to see themselves rewarded, for indeed the Republick hardly leaves any great action to go without a reward, which encourages others to strive after the same. Some *Venetian* Noblemen carried themselves very gallantly in the repulses they gave the *Turks*, especially from the Fort St. *Andè*: the Rowers and Slaves, many of them, behaved themselves very valiantly, it being observed that one of them in an assault of the *Turks* killed fourty with his own hand; yet for all this it had gone hard with them, for they had been overpowered, but it

was

was Gods pleasure to bring them very seasonably fresh men, and other necessary supplies, sent from *Venice*, and others out of *Naples*, and *Monsieur de St. Andre Monbrun* with the former, which raised their spirits very much, so that since from time to time having received new supplies of *Germans* and *Italians*, they made Sallyes, and did execution upon the Enemy, venturing very far, the General himself in one of them receiving a Musquet shot in one of his Shoulders, though not dangerous.

A thing which indeed kept up very much the hearts of the besieged, was the hopes of succours preparing for them in *France*, which to them was given out to be more forward then indeed it was : I must say something as to the nature of it : This was not sent by the French Kings Order, but only by his permission, upon this account ; A French man of great courage and experience, named Count *de la Fueilade*, brought up in the French Armies,
and

and who was in this late War in *Hungary*, having taken it ill, as the report goes, that in the late promotion, he was not made a Marshal of *France*, instead of which the King his Master had a while before made him *Duke of Roannes* and Peer of *France*; or rather, as I am apt to beleeve, out of a Martial desire, seeing peace concluded at home, resolved upon this service, with the Kings leave, and levied three thousand brave fighting men, of which above eight hundred are old Officers; and having Shipt them at *Marseilles* he sailed towards *Maltha* to take in 40 Knights of his Nation, men willing to venture their lives in the defence of *Candia*, to whose succour also the *Grand Maltez* hath sent three hundred men; from whence they sailed all together towards *Candia*, where they are now arrived according to their desire, and to the great satisfaction of the besieged, and very likely they will fall upon a *ction* whilst they are fresh, and before the Climate, and perhaps a dissolute manner of life, do work distempers amongst them. But

But to return to the Siege, the Visier hearing of great succours expected in *Candia*, would hasten to do something before their arrival; but for two dayes together being repulsed with the loss, as 'tis thought, of about ten thousand men, he was disheartned as well as his Army; which having wrought a contrary effect upon the besieged, they made some Sallyes, which joyned to the Rains, which towards the end of *Autumn* fell there abundantly, have made the Grand Visier to retire, with a design, as 'tis very probable, of coming on again; in the mean while the *Venetians* are very much refreshed by the arrival of their expected succours of *French*, *Germans*, and *Italians*, the number of which comes to about ten thousand men, who likely will send out some parties to look abroad, if there be occasion for't. On the other side, having received Pioneers, and other workmen, with some materials, they are about repairing their Fortifications, which must needs have received great dammages, by the springing up of so many

many Mines about them, but especially by the *Turks* Artillery, of which they ever have great quantity, and of the greater sort, it being their custom not to draw them to Sieges as other Nations use, but they cast them in their Camp, and when they are to march off, they break them to pieces, which they carry away: By these means they are freed of the trouble and the charges which do attend trains of Artillery; and so they cast them as big as they will, and to carry bullets of what weight they please, and then the continual shooting of this Artillery must needs shake any Works and Fortifications how strong soever they be: Yet against this the besieged have secured themselves the best they could, for *Candia*, which formerly was a sweet and a pleasant place, is now wholly made a City of War, and as I am informed by some lately come from thence, their Souldiers for the most part are lodged under Vaults, Caves, and other places under ground, where they are secure enough from the bullets

lets till they be called to the defence of the breach when any is made.

This is the present posture of *Candia*, which hath now time to breath till the Enemy falls on again; which when it comes, God knows what will be the success of it, for oftentimes valour being over-powered, must at last yield to number; wherefore the Republick is at present soliciting for help almost every where by the means of the Ambassadors she hath sent to most Courts; and as according to all probability *Candia* is secured enough for this Winter, so sufficient preparations are to be made to resist the attempts which on the next Spring shall be made against it, there being a timely warning given of it. I say further, that if the Republick was somewhat Assisted, she could be able, not only to secure the City of *Candia*, but if she could form any indifferent body of Army about it, to get ground of the *Turk* from keeping the Mastery of the Sea, they could receive constant

stant supplies of all manner of things when the Enemy should want it; for stopping those which he receives from *Morea*, and few other places, his Army could not subsist, because, though the Island of *Candia* be of a good and fruitfull soyle, yet at present it is barren and desolate, the ground being neither tilled nor manured, it being the *Turks* custome to destroy the places of their Conquests, to make them void of Inhabitants, and so unfruitful. Now in this case the Visier and his Army should be as birds in a Cage, and could with themselves farther off, or that they had never come there; so that it may be said of him, he is fallen into the snare he had prepared for others: and truly should he and his Army perish in this, it would prove a sore and a fatall blow to the *Ottoman* Empire. And I pray to God, who hath the hearts of all men in his hand, even those of Kings, which he turns like Rivers of waters, to make Christian Princes so sensible of it, as to work upon them a desire, and a taking
such

Such an effectual course as might promote the great Interest of *Christendom* against the Common Enemy; for if ever it be done, I am fully perswaded it must be the effect of a strong influence and providence of God overruling the hearts and interests of men, without their designs, and even against it, for he is able to move, bow and incline the wills of men as it seems good unto him.

F. I. N. I. S.



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